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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 246



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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

POLISH GOVERNMENT WARNS AGAINST DISRUPTING PARTY

OWO41230 Beijing XINHUA in English 1221 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA)--The Polish Council of Ministers today issued a circular to government ministers, provincial governors, mayors and leaders of state organs and units, urging them to resist all attempts to hinder the functioning of the United Workers' Party in the factories, according to a report from Warsaw.

The council also called upon them to provide necessary protection and legal assistance to the party organizations.

The circular which was made public by the Government Information Bureau said, "The functioning of the party is stipulated in Articles 3 and 84 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland."

It said that perpetrators of all actions aimed at hindering the functioning of the party would be dealt with according to the criminal law.

On November 24, the secretariat of the Party Central Committee issued a statement, accusing certain Solidarity Union organizations of stepping up opposition to the party committees and party members in factories.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SOLIDARITY THREATENS NATIONWIDE STRIKE IN POLAND

OW041311 Beijing XINHUA in English 1229 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA)--The presidium of the Solidarity Union's National Commission in a statement today accused the government of undermining the prospects for national accord and threatened to call a nation-wide general strike, according to reports from Warsaw.

The statement was issued in Warsaw before the Solidarity presidium called a meeting in Radom with dozens of leaders of Solidarity's local chapters following the shutdown of the firemen's cadet school by the government.

The statement said that recent events, including yesterday's assault by paramilitary police on the cadet school to dislodge striking cadets, proved that the government had decided to reject dialogue in favour of force.

It also accused the government of watering down schemes for major economic reform and sticking to its old ways.

It said the union would consider calling a general strike if the United Workers' Party carried out a threat to order emergency powers which it said would amount to the elimination of civil and worker rights won in the 1980 labour unrest.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa told an audience of three thousand workers in Radom that if the National Assembly (SEJM) approves extraordinary measures demanded by the United Workers' Party, a general strike will be announced, because "we don't have any other way out."

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CURRENT SITUATION IN POLAND REVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 6, 20 Sep 81 pp 32-34

[Article by Chen Xueyan [7115 1331 3601]: "Turmoil in an Ancient Green Land--A Bird's Eye View of the Polish Situation"]

[Text] Some people say that green signifies tranquility and peace. But the grass carpeted, fragrant, and pleasant ancient green land of Poland is not so tranquil. The first autumn of the 1980's brought the Polish people not fresh flowers but turmoil.

Intensified Internal Contradictions and the Inner Party Struggle

On 1 July 1980, transportation equipment plant workers in the city of Miyelaici [phonetic] in Reshufu [phonetic] Province in Poland struck in protest against the government's 40 to 60 percent increase that day in meat prices at "special meat shops." A tide of strikes rapidly enveloped the entire country. This strike movement was a continuation of the strike incidents in Poland of 1970 and 1976, and it was also the greatest single social crisis in Poland since the war.

Though the strike movement was occasioned by the economic issues of a demand for the lowering of meat prices and increases in wages, it quickly developed into a movement with a very intense political coloration as one political demand after another was raised.

Following conclusion of 20 July this year of a special "Ninth Party Congress" social conflicts again sharpened with workers and women in Kutenuo [phonetic] and Lodz demonstrating in the streets for the first time since July last year. On 3 August, Warsaw workers also organized a demonstration of several hundred taxi, truck, and bus drivers. Several times the government and "Solidarity" trade union held talks on increases in food prices, economic reform, the trade union law, worker autonomy, and "sharing" of the mass media. Differences between the two parties were serious, each sticking to its own position.

As the internal conflicts intensified, struggles within the Polish Party increased. Under attack from the tide of strikes, the former Polish leader, Gierek, announced his resignation, and the prime minister, Babiwuhe Hepingkefusiji [phonetic] succeeded him. Within slightly more than a year, major reorganizations took place in both the Polish Party Central Committee and government. Following Kania's assumption of the post of first secretary, his putting forward of a line that proposed

political and economic reforms and consultations to solve social conflicts gained the support of all social strata. However, implementation encountered considerable opposition within the party. The Polish do not conceal the existence within party leadership blocs of different factions and divergences. From the beginning to the end of the Polish Party's Ninth Special Congress, rivalries existed among the forces of various factions. Struggles were extremely intense on the subjects of the orientation of development of the Polish Party, the leadership group, "Solidarity" trade union, and exposing and criticizing the mistakes of former leaders. In this summary report, Kania reiterated that the Polish Party would move ahead with the programs decided upon after last August, unswervingly continuing to promote a line of innovation and consultation, and maintaining confidence in the use of its own forces to surmount crises and to formulate a party platform.

However, some people in the society castigated Kania for "not using force to solve problems," resulting in the country having no law to speak of. In the process of selecting the leadership group, delegates of various tendencies contacted each other to get votes for their faction.

The new leadership group elected by the Ninth Party Congress brought great changes. Only 24 of the 253 people elected by the Eighth Party Congress were re-elected. Seventy-five percent of the Eighth Party Congress Politburo members and alternate members and 67 percent of the former Central Committee secretaries failed to be re-elected.

The split in the Party Central Committee was also related to the split in the ranks of local parties. Prior to the Ninth Party Congress, party members from all jurisdictions in Poland developed a tendency toward "crosswise organization," with all sorts of "forums" being set up helter-skelter in opposition to each other.

The Polish economy was even more appalling. Under pressure from the strike movement, national income in 1980 fell by 4 percent, and during the first 5 months of this year, it fell another 15 percent as compared with the same period last year. A budget deficit of more than \$7 billion is expected. During the first 5 months of this year, industrial output value fell 12 percent. During the first quarter, coal output was 20.8 percent less than during the same period last year, and exports were only one-sixth those of the same period last year. Even more ironically, Poland is the fourth largest producer of coal in the world, but the people are experiencing extreme hardships in getting coal to burn. They have no choice but to fell trees to relieve the fuel crisis. Though Poland has been known throughout history as the "meat basket of Eastern Europe," agricultural production is very depressed. Last year farm output was 15.2 percent less than in the previous year, and this year the shortage of seeds for various grain crops is more than one-third greater than last year. Meat output this year will be 500,000 tons less than last year. Meat output this year will be 500,000 tons less than last year, and market supply will drop by 6 percent. As a result of slim agricultural harvests, in front of non-staple food stores everywhere long lines of people form to buy food. Television stations throughout the country regularly broadcast scenes of residents buying food. Even though the shelves of stores are empty, buyers still struggle to get something. One employee sadly sighed. "This is unprecedented in Poland." In order to assure that residents will be able to buy needed food,

after continuing a rationing system for meat and sugar in March this year, the government promoted a rationing system for butter, flour, oatmeal and rice in May.

Trouble Has Been Brewing For Quite Some Time

The current turmoil in Poland, as in the previous two instances, has a deep social background and involves complex political and economic factors. In a report to the recently held Ninth Special Party Congress, Party Central Committee First Secretary Kania said, "The main reasons for the current social and economic crisis were and still are the tremendous development of intensified productive forces but a rigid managerial system for the national economy, as well as contradictions in the life of the whole society. The breadth and depth of the crisis results from the numerous mistaken economic and social policies and decisions taken during the 1970's." "The Politburo of the Party Central Committee is not democratic and has departed from the principles of socialism."

During the previous 10 years, without gauging domestic realities, the leaders of Poland promoted "a new economic strategy" of "high-speed development," in a three-high policy of high speed, high investment, and high wages and welfare, in an effort at the "rebuilding of Poland" during the 1970's. The essence of high speed was an all out effort in capital construction. Funds for this capital construction came largely from large foreign loans. Current Polish indebtedness to the West amounts to \$27 billion, for an average per capita debt of \$750 and exceeding permissible limits. Before old debts were paid, new debts steadily increased. It is estimated that by the end of this year, foreign loans will exceed \$30 billion. Poland had no choice but to use 81.8 percent of its exports to pay its debts. The manifest backwardness of light industry, which directly relates to the people's livelihood, was a major reason for long term shortages in domestic markets.

Poland's economic pattern has been copied from the USSR, and proportional imbalances in all sectors of industry are endemic in it. Moreover, these imbalances have been intensified by the need to onesidedly develop processing industries in order to increase exports to repay foreign loans. Poland's system of economic management has also been copied from the USSR, and numerous serious abuses exist within it, with the result that the enthusiasm of enterprises and of staff and workers managing enterprises is restricted and stifled.

For a long time Poland has overlooked development of agriculture, and agriculture has long been in a backward state. A serious imbalance exists between farming and animal husbandry. During the 1970's, farming increased by 29.9 percent, but the livestock industry increased 61.4 percent. Development of the livestock industry rests on a brittle foundation of grain and feed imports. Between 1970 and 1980, Poland paid more than \$9 billion for imported grain and cattle feed. This amounted to 40 percent of Poland's total foreign debt. Thus, agriculture competes with industry for foreign exchange and drags industry down. Mistakes in agricultural policies created the serious food shortages.

Still another element in the turmoil in Poland has been the erroneous tendency to restrict democracy in political life. The system of democratic centralism within the party has been severely damaged, a situation of individual arbitrary decision making gradually having taken shape among party and government leaders. Gierek's

individual arbitrary decisions were placed above the organization. All persons expressing dissenting views about "high-speed strategy, and national economic policies," Gierk regarded as dissidents and attacked them. Both the party and the state apparatus jeopardized the functioning of democracy. A situation of no distinction between party and state was extremely pronounced in Poland. All chairmen of representative assemblies at all levels were concurrently first secretaries, and the parliament lost its function of watching over the government. Numerous party and government leaders were imperious and despotic, seriously divorced from the masses, and even used their official positions to engage in speculation and profiteering, taking bribes and embezzling to enrich themselves at public expense. According to data made public by Poland, 3,500 officials were guilty of using their official positions for private gain, among them the former party first secretary, Gierk, and 7 deputy premiers, 18 ministers, and 56 deputy ministers.

Poland is a country with a patriotic tradition, and strong national consciousness, and the Polish people want to take their own independent course. During the turmoil in Poland, this national consciousness was correspondingly revealed. Under strong outside pressure and intervention, in particular, the Polish people consistently demonstrated confidence in their own strength.

In another realm, the Polish crisis is related to the following factors:

Polish Catholics number between 80 and 90 percent of the population, and two-thirds of party members believe in God. This includes large numbers of cadres and military men.

Poland has "those holding different political views" in the thousands, and they have organized various groups. These organizations are a mixed bag of good and bad people representing various shades of the political spectrum. During the recent great strike, various "holders of different political views" frenziedly used worker and mass discontent to make all kinds of political demands. Some of them evidently obtained support from the West.

Poland is an Eastern European country that has been fairly thoroughly permeated by Western culture. The influence of bourgeois ideology and the Western way of life plays a role in social life that cannot be ignored.

Santon Soviet Interference and the Intense Conflict Between the USSR and the United States

The turmoil in Poland affected the whole situation of Soviet struggle for world hegemony. Poland is the country in Eastern Europe having the largest area and the biggest population. It is an important link in the "Warsaw Pact" chain, and it is also the strategic corridor for USSR movement into Western Europe. Moreover, the events in Poland cannot but affect the society of Eastern Europe and of the USSR itself. Consequently, at the outset of the strike movement in Poland, the USSR was quite concerned about the situation that had taken place. On the one hand, they increased political pressure and political interference, while making a show of force and making preparations for invasion on the other.

The USSR's propaganda instruments made the "Solidarity" trade union the main focus of their attacks at first, saying that the emergence of "Solidarity" was a "plot

of domestic and foreign counterrevolutionary forces," and was the "principal danger for Poland." Subsequent to this April, the USSR changed the butt of its accusations to the Polish party. Following Suslov's visit to Poland, immediately after his return to Moscow Tass openly catigated "revisionist elements" within the party. On 1 June, Tass again launched an attack on the Polish Party in the name of the Polish people, blaming the Party Central Committee leadership and government for "retreating in defeat again and again," and hinting that the Polish Party was about to lose its ability to control events. It also expressed criticism and a negative attitude toward the "Ninth Party Congress Outline," and expressed the view that "revisionist elements were in process of taking power" within the Polish Party. On 5 June, the Central Committee of the Soviet Party wrote a letter to the Central Committee of the Polish Party, in which the Soviet Party flaunted its position as a "senior party," and blamed the leadership of the Polish Party for having "ignored" the "friendly exhortations" of the Soviet Communist Party, thereby causing the "outbreak in Poland of a deeper crisis," and demanding that the Polish Party "mobilize all healthy forces to launch a struggle against counterrevolutionary forces." It also stipulated that "the situation should be directed to the right track before the Ninth Party Congress." On the eve of the Polish Party's "Ninth Party Congress," Gromyko again went to Poland suddenly, again offering "sincere advice" to the Polish leaders. Polish newspapers noted that the Soviet Union and other "socialist countries strongly manifest an attitude of ever increasing suspicion about changes in Poland, and are losing confidence that Poland can find the means for a solution."

Militarily, the USSR created a public opinion for invasion on the one hand, while adopting a posture of military intervention and making deployments for military intervention on the other. All around Poland, the Soviet Union concentrated large military forces, and on several occasions conducted various types of military exercise on Polish soil and in adjacent land and sea areas. The "Warsaw Pact" commander-in-chief, Kulikov frequently scurried to exercises in Poland and neighboring countries.

It appears that development of the situation in Poland had surpassed the limits of Soviet tolerance of several years before. By past standards, the USSR would long ago have acted militarily to intervene, but they never dared act. This is a demonstration of Soviet power falling short of its ambitions. First of all, they feared the rebuke of world public opinion and their further isolation throughout the world. Secondly, they feared the resistance of the Polish people. Third, they feared that once they took on this heavy burden, they would be unable to put it down. Fourth they feared opposition from within the Warsaw Pact bloc. Fifth, they feared destruction of deployments for their global strategy. Therefore, for anything short of an absolute necessity, they dared not make a reckless move.

Nevertheless, the danger of a Soviet invasion of Poland still seriously exists and is growing. People believe that if the Polish situation deteriorates further, the Soviet dispatch of troops might take place at any time.

Naturally, the United States has not relinquished its "concern" about the Polish situation, and it has tried to "influence" development of the Polish situation. American leaders several times made statements of approval of Polish worker strike action and of the "Solidarity" trade union, and indicated that the United States

is a "firm bulwark" for winning "political freedom" and the "free labor movement." In order to influence the Polish situation, the United States has supplied economic assistance, but American economic assistance is conditional. Reagan publicly announced that "the United States will help the Polish people, but this will be decided by how the Polish situation develops. If the Polish government does not take stern measures against the Polish people, the American answer to the Polish request for the supply of urgently needed food would be much easier."

However, in the final analysis Poland is the Poland of the Polish people. All of the contradictions and conflicts in Poland can be solved only through reliance on the Polish people. Moreover, the Polish people have the capacity to triumph over all adversities.

The spirit of forbearance and consultation manifested during the past year by the Polish Party and the "Solidarity" labor union in order to avoid incurring outside intervention, and the prudent attitude they have adopted all demonstrate the intelligence of the Polish people.

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CSO: 4005/209

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'XINHUA' NOTES UN DEBATE ON APARTHEID QUESTION

OW031238 Beijing XINHUA in English 1208 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, December 2 (XINHUA)—The racist regime of South Africa was under heavy fire for its abhorrent policy of apartheid during the four-day debate on the question of apartheid at the United Nations General Assembly.

The debate which ended here tonight showed the unprecedented isolation of Pretoria in the international community. The overwhelming majority of the some 100 speakers at the Assembly directed their spearhead of attack at the inhuman system of apartheid. They condemned the white minority regime of South Africa for its cruel policy of apartheid against the black majority population in that country, its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and constant armed aggression against the African frontline countries.

During the debate, the United States once again came out to support the Pretoria regime. U.S. Representative Kenneth Adelman voiced his nation's disagreement to the exclusion of South Africa from the General Assembly and its opposition to sanctions and other punitive measures against the apartheid regime.

Contrary to the U.S. attitude, quite a number of Western representatives have severely criticized the South African racist regime's apartheid policy. There are indications that some of the countries which have always backed the racist regime are considering to withdraw their support. British Representative Anthony Parsons, speaking on behalf of the 10 member states of the European Community, declared that the ten had stated their desire to see the apartheid system replaced by a government based on a truly representative system, and would continue to consider means that they might use in common to influence the South African Government.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

WARSAW PACT BLAMES U.S. FOR INTERNATIONAL CLIMATE

OW031252 Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Bucharest, December 3 (XINHUA)--The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries blamed the United States for the "worsening of the international climate" and the "growth of military danger."

A joint communique to this effect was issued here last night at the end of a two-day meeting of seven Warsaw Pact foreign ministers soon after the United States and the Soviet Union began talks on European theater nuclear forces in Geneva.

As a counter-charge that the Soviet buildup of SS-20 threatens West European security, it points to the "special danger" posed by NATO's two-track decision to deploy new U.S. medium-range missiles in Western Europe and the U.S. decision to start manufacturing neutron warheads.

Warsaw Pact countries, the communique says, "Have no, have not had and will not have the intention to build up a first nuclear strike capability."

Repeating the Soviet argument, it says the Warsaw Pact countries "do not aspire and will never aspire to military superiority," and "have no, have not had and will not have any strategic doctrine except the defensive one."

In a move to out maneuver U.S. President Ronald Reagan's "zero level option" that the United States would cancel the deployment of cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in Europe if the Soviets dismantle their existing SS-20's, SS-4's and SS-5's, the communique calls on both the East and West to renounce all medium-range nuclear weapons directed to targets in Europe.

Referring to the U.S.-Soviet Geneva talks, the communique says that the foreign ministers expressed "the positive attitude of their states to the resumption of the Soviet-American talks on the problem of medium-range nuclear means in Europe." But, it adds, for these talks to be a success it is necessary that "account be taken of all medium-range nuclear means in Europe (land- and sea-based missiles, aircraft carrying nuclear weapons), all factors determining the strategic situation in the continent."

It says the foreign ministers at the meeting endorsed an offer "advanced more than once" for a simultaneous dismantling of the seven-nation Warsaw Pact and 15-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

They proposed "the liquidation, as a first step, of their military organizations, starting with the reciprocal reduction of their military activities."

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DK CALLS FOR DISCUSSION ON TRIPARTITE COALITION

OW031817 Beijing XINHUA in English 1623 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA)--Democratic Kampuchea [DK] has called on its army, people and overseas residents to discuss the coalition of the three Kampuchean resistance forces and express their opinions about how to strengthen the country's resistance to the Vietnamese aggression, Radio Democratic Kampuchea reported Wednesday.

A communique was released November 30 by the permanent committee of the People's Congress of Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Patriotic and Democratic Front of the Great National Union of Kampuchea. It listed the achievements from the tripartite ad hoc committee's talks which were held during nine meetings from September 13 to November 14, on the basis of a four-point statement signed on September 4 in Singapore by leaders from the three factions and included the contents of the proposal put forward recently by Singapore.

Achievements made during the tripartite ad hoc committee meetings include the political principles which stipulate: No side can claim all powers of the coalition government to itself; all three sides should be represented in the structure and composition of the government; the cabinet should decide important questions by consensus through consultations; and the legitimacy of the institution in Democratic Kampuchea must be maintained.

A political program for the coalition government was also agreed upon which include: The coalition government will do whatever possible to mobilize Kampuchean forces at home and abroad to continue their struggle against the Vietnamese aggressors and force the aggressor troops to completely withdraw from Kampuchea, and then, the coalition government will take proper measures to ensure a free election under supervision by the United Nations and continue the policy of non-alignment and neutrality.

The ad hoc committee agreed with the proposal by the Democratic Kampuchean side that each of the other two sides should send five representatives to joint the standing committee of the Kampuchean People's Congress.

The ad hoc committee also agreed with a proposal for the formation of a Democratic Kampuchean coalition government in which the three sides would respectively

assume the leading positions as president of the presidium of the state, prime minister and deputy prime minister concurrently in charge of foreign affairs.

The ad hoc committee agreed that a Democratic Kampuchean coalition government would be composed of a presidium of state (including president, first vice president and second vice president); prime minister, deputy prime minister in charge of foreign affairs; deputy prime minister in charge of economic and financial affairs; a military coordination committee at a ministerial level formed by one member from each of the three sides; internal and religious minister; minister of justice; minister of culture and education; minister of health and social affairs; minister of communication and transportation; and minister of information.

The communique pointed out that: "The results attained at the tripartite ad hoc committee meetings have been rejected by His Excellency Son Sann who insists on all the conditions he has put forth."

It said: On November 22 and 23, Singapore Second Deputy Prime Minister in charge of foreign affairs Rajaratnam and the Singapore delegation met with the three forces of Kampuchea in Bangkok and submitted a new proposal which is totally irrelevant to the political principles and program agreed to within the framework of the ad hoc committee and all other fruitful results achieved by the ad hoc committee. This proposal is aimed at establishing what His Excellency Rajaratnam has called 'a loose government'."

This "loose" government will consist of a head of state or president, a prime minister, a deputy prime minister, three ministers representing the three sides in charge of military coordination work and another three ministers from the three sides to be in charge of information and propaganda.

The Singapore proposal added that: "Each faction maintains its independence and is free to disseminate its own political program and philosophy on the future of Kampuchea."

The communique pointed out that the position of Democratic Kampuchea is that with regard to this question these principles must be upheld: First, "three-sidedness," that is, no single side should be allowed to dominate in the power organ; second, insistence on the legitimacy of the institution of Democratic Kampuchea, so that there would be no opportunity for anyone to question the country's legal status; third, the good results of the nine meetings of the ad hoc committee must be made the basis (on which to establish the future government).

The communique added that no agreement whatsoever had been reached during the meetings between Rajaratnam and the three Kampuchean sides.

The communique to the army and people asked them to consider and discuss the coalition government problem conscientiously and respond this month so that the three makers of the communique will be able to make a proper decision.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THAI RADIO DEFENDS POLICY ON KAMPUCHEA

OW040843 Beijing XINHUA in English 0821 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Bangkok, December 4 (XINHUA)—The Voice of Free Asia, the radio of the Thai Foreign Ministry, in a recent commentary refuted Hanoi's attack on Thailand and Singapore for supporting the formation of a coalition government in Kampuchea.

It says Radio Hanoi was trying to cover up the Vietnamese "military occupation of Kampuchea" by stating that "Bangkok and Singapore were joining hands with Beijing and Washington to oppose the three Indo-Chinese countries."

The commentary says Bangkok and Singapore do not oppose the three Indo-Chinese countries, but they are against the invasion of Kampuchea in December 1978 and its military occupation by Vietnamese troops since then, now numbering 200,000.

It points out that "the Vietnamese have been trying to separate Thailand and Singapore from the other ASEAN countries by specially criticising them, trying to set them apart and causing dissension within Asia."

Refuting Radio Hanoi's allegation that "a limited number of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea does no harm to the legitimate interest of Singapore, Thailand or any third country," the commentary says that "two hundred thousand troops is certainly not a limited number. With at least 20,000 Vietnamese combat troops being continuously rotated to the Thai-Kampuchean border...it is the legitimate interest of Thailand to get the Vietnamese combat forces away from its border and to seek their total withdrawal."

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'NODONG SINMUN' RAPS SEOUL FOR EXPLOITING OLYMPIAD

OW031809 Beijing XINHUA in English 1617 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Pyongyang, December 3 (XINHUA)--The Pyongyang paper "NODONG SINMUN" today denounced the Chon Tu-hwan clique in South Korea for trying to exploit the 1988 Olympic games to be held in Seoul as a means to perpetuate the division of Korea.

In a commentator's article entitled "Move Contradictory to the Idea of Olympic Movement," the paper recalled that South Korea's Foreign Minister No Sin-yong recently claimed that South Korea, being the host for an Olympiad, should logically become a "member of the United Nations;" that it would actively carry out diplomatic activities for its "separate entry into the United Nations;" and that it would strive to establish "official relations" with the "communist bloc."

The current idea of separate U.N. membership is a rehashed version of "simultaneous U.N. admission," which was conceived to push Chon Tu-hwan's "two Koreas" policy, the article added.

"The scheme of the Chon Tu-hwan clique to put the Olympiad on the altar of its 'two Koreas' policy, its heinous plot for a permanent division of the nation, is an unpardonable treachery to the whole nation which ardently wishes to see reunification and is an intolerable insult to the world and sports circles desirous of friendship among peoples and peace," it noted.

The paper continued to say that people commonly understand a venue of Olympiad to be a place which is stable politically and economically and where democratic freedom is ensured and peace is guaranteed. But such is not the reality of South Korea. Therefore, South Korea is "not a place fit for such an international festival as the Olympiad."

The 24th Olympiad is expected to be held in Seoul, South Korea, from late September to early October 1988.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SELA ADOPTS DOCUMENT ON STRATEGY TOWARD U.S.

OW021916 Beijing XINHUA in English 1859 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] Panama City, December 2 (XINHUA)--The first consultative ministerial meeting of the Latin American Economic System (SELA) adopted a document entitled "Panama Declaration" here today to shape a joint strategy by Latin American countries in dealing with the unequal economic relations with the United States.

The three-day meeting, which ended today, was attended by foreign ministers and financial ministers, or their representatives, from 27 member states of the SELA.

The declaration says that the main characteristics of Latin America's economic relations with the U.S. in inequality, which is advantageous to the U.S. and detrimental to the process of economic and social development in Latin America.

The declaration says that there is a pressing need for expediting the development of Latin America and strengthening Latin America's organizations dealing with foreign relations. These problems should enjoy priority consideration and not be subject to U.S. domestic policies.

It says that the United States should eliminate the factors resulting in a high interest rate, which affects investments in Latin America and increases Latin America's burden of debt repayments.

It holds that foreign private investments should not be regarded as a kind of aid or as a component part of the financial cooperation aimed at development. It advocates the right to introduce Latin America's primary products into U.S. markets. It opposes U.S. tariff restrictions, all attempts to exert influence on international financial organizations in the policy and decision-making processes, and the use of foods and other goods as political weapons.

The declaration stresses that seeking the establishment of comparatively satisfactory economic relations with the United States does not mean the establishment of a "special relationship"; it represents "a new effort by Latin American region to alter the existing and even growing inequality in the relations."

It points out that the common position and strategy taken by the Latin American countries on economic and social issues are based on the following principles:

Equality of all states in regard to sovereignty, non-interference in the internal and external affairs of other countries, respect for the people's right to self-determination and the full and perpetual sovereignty enjoyed by all states over their riches, natural resources and economic activities.

It says that together with all other developing countries in the world, Latin American countries are involved in concerted efforts to establish a new international economic order. A common strategy worked out by Latin America for guiding its economic relations with other countries, especially the United States, is a component part of the strategy defined by the developing countries for negotiations dealing with the North-South relations.

The declaration points out that the Latin American nations are deepening and expanding their economic cooperation and the integration process so as to gain a better bargaining position in external economic relations.

In addition to adopting the declaration, the participating representatives also agreed to reach an accord on "principles and actions for the common strategy of Latin America in negotiations with the United States." These principles and actions concern trade, basic products, financial aid and transnationals.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ARAB PRESS SCORES U.S.-ISRAELI MILITARY PACT

OW030248 Beijing XINHUA in English 0156 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Kuwait, December 2 (XINHUA)--The Gulf Press today criticized the new strategic cooperation pact between the United States and Israel and accused America of becoming completely aligned with Israel in the latter's conflict with the Arabs.

The Saudi newspaper "AL-MADINA" described the pact as a "disguised hostile action against the Arabs intended to signal the rupture of the region and encourage other Arab states to conclude similar pacts with the Soviet Union."

"The reaction to the pact will be a terrible blow to the peace efforts in the region and a setback for all the moderate voices in the Arab world," another Saudi Paper "AL-NADWA" warned.

The Qatari daily "GULF NEWS" said that America's continued support for Israel's aggressive intentions threaten not only the Arabs but world peace. It appealed to peace-loving nations to "warn the United States of the grave consequences of the new pact" with Israel.

"AL-QABAS" of Kuwait noted that "this agreement is but an injection of vitamins and vitality elements in the Israeli veins and an appetizer for more aggression and invasion."

The Saudi daily "AL-NADWA" pointed out: "Washington will be committing a grave mistake if it believes that its interests in the Middle East can be protected by the newly reached pact with Israel which contradicts sharply with those of the Arabs who are the owners of the region."

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HABIB ENDS LEBANON VISIT, LEAVES FOR SYRIA

OWO21331 Beijing XINHUA in English 1253 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] Beirut, December 1 (XINHUA)—Lebanese Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan Monday urged the United States to secure a complete Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon and help Lebanon recover the control over the southern sector bordering Israel.

Al-Wazzan made the statement after talks with U.S. Special Envoy Philip Habib, who was on the first leg of his fourth trip to the Middle East. He said that the U.S. must adopt a position leading to the implementation of Resolution 425 of the U.N. Security Council, which calls for a complete withdrawal by Israel and the reestablishment of Lebanese legal authority over the southern border area.

Any attempt to "freeze" the situation can only make things more complicated, he said, adding that to be contented with the present ceasefire actually amounts to "putting" the Lebanese crisis "in the refrigerator."

The Lebanese prime minister called on the U.S. to pursue a policy to improve the international situation and resolve the Middle East problem.

Habib had also had talks with speaker of the Parliament (Kamel Assad) and Foreign Minister Fu'ad Butrus, and met political leaders.

He made no statement after talks with al-Wazzan but according to local papers, he had come here with no specific proposal to end the Lebanese crisis.

Habib stressed to the Lebanese leaders the necessity to consolidate the ceasefire. He called on chief armed groups in Lebanon to exercise the biggest restraint so that in the months ahead, all possibilities may remain open to achieve national dialogue, especially through channel of the quadripartite Arab committee.

Habib left here for Syria today by car but he will return here after visiting Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Israel to meet President Ilyas Sarkis who is abroad at the present time.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

UN BEGINS DELIBERATIONS ON PALESTINE QUESTION

OW030726 Beijing XINHUA in English 0711 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, December 2 (XINHUA)--The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination was reaffirmed and Israel was again condemned for its intransigence as the General Assembly began to consider the question of Palestine today.

Massamba Sarre, chairman of the committee on the exercise of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, reaffirmed that the question of Palestine is the core of the problem of the Middle East and consequently it is not possible to envisage a solution to the problem of the Middle East unless one takes into account the rights of the Palestinian people.

He said that implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homes and to achieve self-determination, independence and national sovereignty would contribute to a resolution of the Middle East crisis.

The participation of the PLO, the representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all the other parties in solving the question is indispensable, he added.

He stressed that the acquisition of territories by force is inadmissible and Israel must totally withdraw from the occupied Arab territories.

Farouk Kaddoumi, observer of the PLO, denounced Israel's intransigence, arrogance and defiance. Had it not been for the position of the United States, Israel would not have been able to take the stand it did, he said.

Ahmed Meguid, representative of Egypt, stated that Egypt is committed to fight for the right of the Palestinian people in war and in peace. He called for dialogue, mutual recognition and conciliation among all the peoples in the region. Egypt continues to move along the path to peace and will never renounce the rights of the Palestinian people, he added.

Hazem Nuseibeh, representative of Jordan, charged that Israel has made no secret of its determination to annex all the occupied territories, and has already gone a long way towards achieving that goal, particularly in Jerusalem.

Speaking of the recent Arab summit in Fes, he said, it was one of the most incisive dialogues of the Palestinian issue and all options had been explored candidly and responsibly. To reach consensus would need more time and study, he noted.

Speaking on behalf of the E.E.C., Sir Anthony Parsons, representative of the United Kingdom, said that "the essence of any solution must be the reconciliation of the state of Israel and the Palestinian people, so that these two realities can live together in peace and security."

He urged Israel to "put an end to the territorial occupation which it has maintained since the conflict of 1967."

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SYRIA SAYS U.S. CANNOT MEDIATE IN MIDEAST CRISIS

OW020750 Beijing XINHUA in English 0731 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] Damascus, December 1 (XINHUA)--Syrian Foreign Minister 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam told U.S. Presidential Envoy Philip Habib in their talks here today that the United States can no longer mediate in the Middle East crisis because of its strategic cooperation agreement with Israel.

Habib's arrival from Beirut this morning coincided with Washington's approval of a strategic accord with Israel, which calls for joint military planning and maneuvers.

Khaddam told Habib that "the United States has no longer the right to play any mediation or arbitration role in the Arab-Israeli conflict because you have become a direct party in this conflict."

Habib is on his fourth trip to the Middle East since last April in an attempt to find an overall solution to the Lebanese crisis. It was reported that the items for discussion with the leaders he is to meet include the Syrian missiles in Lebanon which Israel has threatened to destroy, tending to the ceasefire he helped establish in July, ending the two-week-long fighting between Israel and Palestinians in South Lebanon, and the Middle East situation after the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat and the postponement of the Fes Summit.

Habib is expected to meet Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad tomorrow. He will also visit Saudi Arabia and Israel.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIA ANNOUNCES 1982 ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN

OW291656 Beijing XINHUA in English 1643 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Text] Bucharest, November 28 (XINHUA)--Romania plans to increase its 1982 net value of agricultural output 6.8 percent and industrial output 5.6 percent above 1981 figures.

The plan was announced in Romania's 1982 national unified plan for economic and social development passed Saturday by the Grand National Assembly.

The plan stipulates a 4.5 percent increase for social products and a 5.5 percent increase for the national income.

The growth rates of social products, national income and the net value of industrial and agricultural output planned for 1982 are lower than previous years' growth rates.

The plan also stipulates that national investment in 1982 will be increased by 2.8 percent above 1981 figures. However, the increase will be below the level set in the 1981-1985 five-year plan. Approximately, 95 percent of the investment will be used for construction projects and project extension plans. The remainder will be used to build new projects.

Industrial investment in 1982 will show a slight reduction. Agricultural investment is targeted for a 13.7 percent increase above 1981 figures. Agricultural investment also will account for 15.7 percent of the total investment.

In order to expand production of raw materials, the government plans to increase geological prospecting with hopes of extracting 44 million tons of coal, 12.5 million tons of oil and 37,000 million cubic meters of natural gas. The government also hopes to boost the mining of other mineral resources.

The country's foreign trade volume in 1982 is projected to rise 14 percent. Exports are expected to earn 34 percent of the country's national income compared to 26 to 27 percent in previous years.

In preparing the 1982 economic plan, the government paid great attention to balancing foreign exchange payments so exports and non-commercial service earnings can finance import spending, interest on foreign debt and part of the foreign debt principal.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EEC SUMMIT CONCLUDES; JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED

OW280346 Beijing XINHUA in English 0254 GMT 28 Nov 81

[Text] London, November 27 (XINHUA)—The ten heads of government of the European Economic Community (EEC) today reaffirmed their common positions on a number of major international issues but failed to achieve agreement on how to reform the community's budget and farm policies.

The final communique issued at the end of the 2-day summit welcomes the commitment of the United States "to the goal of major disarmament by means of mutual reductions in nuclear and conventional forces" and hopes that the forthcoming Geneva talks on the European-based medium-range missiles would lead to "early and positive results." It also says that after being briefed by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt on his talks with Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev earlier this week, the European Council agreed on the need "to keep channels of East-West communication open between governments at all times."

On Afghanistan, the communique says, the EEC leaders reaffirmed their proposal for a two-stage conference as a "practical approach" to solving the problem. The Soviet intervention, associated with repression and bloodshed, is "immensely damaging to international trust and confidence," it says.

The leaders discussed the Middle East problem but chose to be silent to avoid getting embroiled in further Arab-Israeli controversy. But a British spokesman stressed that this did not mean any change in the position of the community on the problem.

They also welcomed proposals by West Germany and Italy for European union and closer cooperation on political and foreign policy issues. The proposals would be referred to foreign ministers for further study.

No agreement was reached on the budget and farm policy proposals put forward by Britain as the current chairman of the community, though strenuous efforts had been made to bridge the differences between the member states. Foreign ministers will be asked to hold further negotiations to work out a compromise package for full agreement on budget, hopefully before Christmas.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

KIM IL-SONG HOSTS BANQUET FOR UGANDAN DELEGATION

OW021513 Beijing XINHUA in English 1500 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] Pyongyang, December 2 (XINHUA)--President Kim Il-song of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea stressed yesterday: "It is now a still more urgent task for the non-aligned countries to maintain independence firmly, achieve strong political unity and secure close economic and technical cooperation."

He said this at a banquet he hosted in honour of the visiting Ugandan party and government delegation headed by Ugandan President A. Milton Obote.

He said: "Owing to the imperialists' manoeuvres to subordinate newly independent nations again and maintain and expand their domination, serious contradictions continue to exist between the imperialists and the peoples of the countries of the new-emerging forces including the non-aligned nations, and the disparity in wealth between the developing countries and the developed industrial nations is widening with each passing day."

He pointed out: "Only by acting in concert will the non-aligned nations and new-emerging countries be able to administer heavy blows to the imperialists and solve the current international problems successfully in line with the demands and interests of the peoples of new-emerging countries."

Speaking on the issue of Southern Africa, President Kim Il-song said: "We maintain that the savage apartheid policy and colonial rule pursued by the racists in Namibia and South Africa must be done away with as soon as possible in accordance with the resolution of the OAU. We express our full support and firm solidarity for the correct stand of the African frontline states and the SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in their endeavours for the settlement of the Namibian issue."

President Obote in reply expressed his country's support for the cause of peaceful reunification of Korea.

The Ugandan party and government delegation arrived here yesterday morning by special plane. The Ugandan guests were greeted at the airport by President Kim Il-song and his wife, and other DPRK leaders.

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SUZUKI DISCUSSES FOREIGN, DOMESTIC POLICIES

OW011851 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 1 Dec 81

[Text] Tokyo, December 1 (XINHUA)--Japanese Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki made a statement on administrative and financial reforms, external economic frictions as well as other policy issues at the first press conference here this afternoon following a radical cabinet reshuffle yesterday.

The new cabinet, Suzuki said, will energetically carry on financial restructuring, trim administrative expenditures and rebuild finance.

Dealing with the problem of foreign trade, he said that Japan is prepared to lower customs duties and remove non-tariff barriers to head off tougher economic frictions with the United States and the European Economic Community which constitute a pressing problem.

Questioned about the defense issue, Suzuki reiterated that "Japan will adopt her defense policy in the light of her own judgment." "The successful and effective application of the Japan-U.S. security treaty is of great significance to Japan's national defense," he emphasized.

Speaking about Japan's economic cooperation with other countries, the prime minister said his new cabinet will continue with the basic policy which is in the interest of economic and social development and for stabilizing and improving the people's livelihood.

New Foreign Minister Yoshio Sakurauchi, while talking about the present international situation with a JIJI news reporter this afternoon, said: "The Soviet move in the recent two or three years to establish military bases in Japanese territory and expand its arms in the Far East has seriously affected our country."

Answering the question on Japan's relations with the Soviet Union, the Japanese foreign minister said the two sides will "have dialogues when necessary." But he said it is "not yet time to study in detail the conducting of frequent working consultations or negotiations between foreign ministers."

On Japanese-American relations, Yoshio Sakurauchi said Japan would hold talks with the Americans "with sincerity."

On Japan's relations with countries in the Middle East, Sakurauchi said a complete peace in the Middle East "is very important in ensuring Japan's source of energy. Therefore, Japan should try its best to cooperate with them."

CSO: 4000/28

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HISTORY OF SINO-SOVIET BORDER QUESTION REVIEWED

Tianjin GUOJI YANJIU [JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES] in Chinese No 1, Jul 81
pp 11-18, 29

[Article by Li Huichuan [2621 0565 1557]: "Where Lies the Knot of Illness in the Sino-Soviet Border Talks?"]

[Text] The Sino-Soviet border question is an important, as yet unresolved problem between the two countries. That it has always been regarded as important by those who study international problems is natural.

As early as 1964, when the Sino-Soviet border talks first began, the Chinese side solemnly declared that it would not demand repossession of the 1.5 million square miles of territory ceded by China to tsarist Russia through unequal treaties and agreed to resolve the Sino-Soviet border problem on the basis of those treaties. In 1969, when the Sino-Soviet border talks resumed, the Chinese once again reiterated this position. But the Sino-Soviet border problem has yet to be resolved. Why? What is it that the Soviet Government wants?

In the intervening years, the Soviet side has been rather busy outside the conference room. The Soviets have been publishing books and articles concerning the Sino-Soviet border problem and have even expressly sent articles to be published in foreign newspapers and periodicals. They are trying hard to make people believe that the responsibility for obstructing the resolution of the border problem lies with the Chinese. But any unbiased person can see where the real knot of the Sino-Soviet border talks lies: all he has to do is simultaneously study the claims of the Soviet Union and the stand of the Chinese Government.

I. To study the Sino-Soviet border question, we must deal with a huge and complex system of Sino-Russian treaties. The present Sino-Soviet border was determined by a series of treaties signed by tsarist Russia with China, including the 1858 Sino-Russian "Treaty of Aighun", the 1860 Sino-Russian "Treaty of Peking", the 1881 Sino-Russian "Revised Treaty" ("Treaty of St Petersburg"), and more than 10 other border demarcation protocols with names of all descriptions. These treaties are the historical documentation of tsarist Russia's invasion of China; they are unequal treaties forced upon China by tsarist imperialism. This has been established as an historical fact. Yet it is on this very question, which is general knowledge, that the Soviet government is deliberately trying to create controversy in order to set up obstacles to the Sino-Soviet border talks.

If we compare the many different Sino-Soviet border lines set up by the successive Sino-Russian treaties, it is easy to see that tsarist Russia annexed one piece after another of Chinese territory.

As everyone knows, the first Sino-Russian treaty was the "Treaty of Nipchu (Nerchinsk)" signed in 1689. It was a treaty signed between the two feudal imperialist countries after fair talks and on the whole under conditions where both sides were evenly matched. This treaty stipulated that China and Russia regarded the outer Khingan Mountains, the Kerbechi River and the Argun River as boundaries. After the Opium War of 1840, China began to fall into a state of semicolonialism. Tsarist Russia, in league with other big imperialist powers, intensified its invasion of China, forcibly occupying Chinese territory, and time and again modified the Sino-Soviet borders on a great scale.

The 1858 Sino-Russian "Treaty of Aighun" moved the boundary from the outer Khingan Mountains to the Heilongjiang (the Amur River), with Russia taking away the 600,000 plus square miles of Chinese territory north of the Heilongjiang and delimiting the Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River to be jointly governed by China and Russia.

The 1860 Sino-Russian "Treaty of Peking" went a step further and incorporated approximately 400,000 square miles of Chinese territory east of the Ussuri River into Russian domain.

To the west of China, the 1860 "Treaty of Peking" and the 1864 border demarcation protocol, "Agreement on the Demarcation of the Northwest Border", first moved the boundary from Lake Balkhash to Lake Zaysan and Lake Te-mu-er-tu-nad (now Lake Issyk-Kul in the Soviet Union), then the entire Te-mu-er-tu-nad was incorporated into Russian domain, with western China thereby ceding 440,000 square miles of territory east and south of Lake Balkhash.

The 1881 "Revised Treaty" ("Treaty of St Petersburg") and the subsequent several border demarcation protocols further incorporated into Russia a total of 70,000 square miles of Chinese territory east of Lake Zaysan and western Ili.

In summation, in the short span of a few decades, tsarist Russia was ceded by China over 1.5 million square miles of territory, equal to an area about three times that of France or 12 times that of Czechoslovakia. This insane usurping of territory has indeed rarely been seen in history.

A look at historical materials will reveal another obvious fact--that is, Russia, taking advantage of China's semicolonial weakened state, used military force to occupy territory and military threats to force the Manchu government to sign the treaties which ceded Chinese territories to Russia. The 1858 "Treaty of Aighun" and the 1860 "Treaty of Peking" were signed with the second Opium War as a backdrop--tsarist Russia played an extremely abominable role in this invasion of China. During the signing of the "Treaty of Aighun", the allied forces of Britain and France had already occupied Taku and were proceeding on to Tianjin and threatening Beijing. Meanwhile, the Russian invading army had arrived at the city gates of Aighun from the north. At the time of the signing of the "Treaty of Peking," the allied forces of Britain and France had just entered Beijing and burned the imperial Yuan Ming Garden, while the Russians had already

exercised military occupation of areas east of the Ussuri River. When the Russian representatives, Muraviyev and Ignatiyev, were forcing the Manchu government to sign these two treaties, they shamelessly relied on the pressures provided by the British-French forces. Muraviyev threatened that if the Chinese did not sign, then "hereafter, whenever the British create problems or make trouble, it will be the fault of the Chinese themselves."¹ Ignatiyev intimidated the Chinese by saying that if the Chinese did not accept all the demands of Russia, he would "recall the British-French forces to Beijing."² The 1881 Sino-Russian "Revised Treaty" ("Treaty of St Petersburg") was based on the 1871 Russian invasion and forcible occupation of the Chinese Ili area for a period of 10 years. The Russian negotiator again and again coerced China to accept a series of harsh demands for land cession and monetary indemnities; he even went as far as to say that "it would be more worthwhile to go to war than to wait further."³ As to these treaties signed under this type of naked military threat and diplomatic blackmail which took away a huge piece of Chinese territory, there is no doubt as to its inequality.

It should also be pointed out that these Sino-Russian treaties possessed all the characteristics of the unequal treaties forced upon the Chinese by the imperialist powers after 1840, such as the cession of Chinese territory, extortion of indemnities, coercing the Chinese to open up coastal commercial ports, exercising consular jurisdiction, and enjoying unilateral most-favored-nation treatment, among others. If there was a difference, it was in the fact that the land the Russians took away by unequal treaties was so large in scale that no other imperialist country could even hope to approximate it. If these treaties are not considered unequal, then there are no unequal treaties in the world, nor is there a record of the imperialist invasion of China--the entire modern history of China would have to be rewritten.

There have long been conclusions in the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin concerning the historical facts of tsarist Russia invading China and forcing unequal treaties upon it. In 1857, Marx pointed out that Russia "has only occupied for a few years the area on both shores of the Heilongjiang, homeland of the present Chinese ruling dynasty." Marx foresaw that although Russian efforts to expand into Chinese territory stopped for a time during the Crimean War, "undoubtedly they would be renewed with great force."⁴ As predicted, Russia forced China to sign the "Treaty of Aighun" a year later. In his criticism of this treaty, Marx pointed out that the "second Opium War helped Russia to obtain the most fertile region between the Gulf of Tartary and Lake Baykal. In the past, Russia had greatly desired to lay hands on this region; all the tsars from Aleksei Mikhailovich to Nicholas had plotted to possess this area."⁵ Engels also pointed out at the time that Russia "seized from China territory the size of France and Germany combined and a river the length of the Danube," but that "not satisfied with this, it has already schemed to establish a Russo-Chinese commission to define the borders. And we all know what sort of commission this is in the hands of the Russians. We have seen the activities of such commissions on the Asian border of Turkey for over 20 years, the commission has been carving away piece after piece of territory from this country."⁶ As expected, the history of the Sino-Russian border later confirmed Engels' prediction to be correct. Lenin had sharply denounced tsarist Russia for being the first bandit to carve up Chinese territory and angrily condemned the tsarist government's policies toward China as being "a type of criminal policy."⁷ The judgment of the Chinese Government

concerning tsarist Russia ceding Chinese territory through unequal treaties is, in fact, the judgment of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Yet the Soviet Government attacked this judgment as being "completely groundless."⁸ This indeed makes one indignant, but it is not unexpected. The Chinese Government has long pointed out that the Soviet leadership has betrayed Marxism-Leninism.

The Soviet Union had originally recognized the equality of the "Treaty of Nipchu" and the inequality of the later treaties by which tsarist Russia ceded Chinese territory. For example, the "Diplomacy Dictionary" edited by Gromyko and published in 1961 pointed out that the negotiation which concluded the "Treaty of Nipchu" was an "official and equal negotiation" and that this treaty "strengthened and enlarged the harmonious relationship of the peoples in the two neighboring countries". And the "Encyclopedia of the Soviet Union" published in 1926 pointed out that the "Treaty of Aighun" was "the first firm step taken by imperialist Russia to invade and occupy Chinese territory". The "Diplomacy Dictionary" edited by Wei-xin-si-ji (Vysinsky?) and published in 1950 clearly pointed out that the "Treaties of Peking" between China and Britain, between China and France, and between China and Russia were a series of unequal treaties forced upon China as a result of the 1859-1960 war waged by Britain and France against China." A similar judgment was made in the 1961 "Diplomacy Dictionary" edited by Gromyko, but now, Gromyko's staff, out of "deep respect" for Chinese history, has declared the judgment on the Sino-Russian unequal treaties as "completely groundless" and has no fear that it might suffer from superior reproachment since the chief himself has already recanted and said that the dictionary he edited himself was "fabricated calumny." The Soviet Union has again and again attempted to make clear in anti-Chinese articles that the Sino-Soviet border problem was produced as a result of the Chinese Government's change of policies. But if we look at the opinions of Soviet officials then and now, which is it that really changed policies after the sixties? Isn't it obvious which is the one causing the Sino-Soviet border disputes?

The Soviet Government changed its former position and made up a new theory to explain it. It says that the "Treaty of Nipchu" is an unequal treaty with respect to Russia and that the "Treaty of Aighun" is a "document of Sino-Russian friendship alliance."¹⁰ The "Treaty of Peking" is also a "friendly document between the two neighboring territories,"¹¹ and Russia did not "apply any military pressure" during the negotiation or signing of these two treaties.¹² These two treaties in fact "never caused the Manchu imperialist nation to lose any of its territories."¹³ The Sino-Russian "Revised Treaty" also "never damaged the sovereignty of China" and one "cannot say at all that this treaty was unequal to China."¹⁴ The Soviet Government representative even declared that the "intent of all these treaties was to promote harmonious relations between neighbors." The Soviet leaders now often say that they want to establish "good-neighborly relations" with China, but when the Soviet Union officially declares the relations of tsarist imperialist Russia toward semicolonial China as determined by the "Treaty of Aighun", the "Treaty of Peking" and the "Revised Treaty" to be "goodneighborly relations," how can we not maintain a high degree of wariness toward the Soviet Government's "good-neighbor" policies?

Not only does the Soviet Government change history at will, it will not even allow China to counter argue or to tell its own history; not only will it not allow China to tell Qing history, it will not even allow it to tell Tang history.

That would be considered "great Han chauvinism", "expansionism", and "inciting anti-Soviet feelings."¹⁵ But as pointed out in an essay published on 30 August 1978 in the British journal, "Soviet Problem Analysis," "when Peking published a map of the ancient Tang dynasty, China was considered to reveal its expansionist intentions; this is as ridiculous as saying that Italy intends to renew the Roman Empire because Italian textbooks contain maps of the Roman Empire during the height of its power."

As for the motive behind Soviet Russia's complete overhaul of history, this is, on the other hand, a question worthy of serious study. A look at the atlas will show that for the most part, the Sino-Russian borders determined by the "Treaty of Nipchu" were long ago erased by tsarist expansionism; only the Argun River section is still maintained to a large degree (although there were other later revisions which were disadvantageous to China). And now, the Soviet Union is objecting even to this section of the border. Everyone knows that during the negotiations which concluded the "Treaty of Nipchu", the Manchu government made a great many concessions and ceded to Russia a large piece of territory on the left bank of the Argun River which had originally belonged to China. But now the Soviet Union is not satisfied with this and is ogling the vast area on the right bank of the river. The Soviets say that through the "Treaty of Aighun" and the "Treaty of Peking", Russia only "partially took back" the territory which the Qing dynasty "had seized from Russia,"¹⁶ and that "the rest of the territories, such as the area on the right bank of the Argun, which the Qing government occupied through the "Treaty of Nipchu," is still in the hands of the Chinese."¹⁷ Soviet "scholars" totally disregard historical facts by forcibly saying that Chinese territory is lost Russian land to be reclaimed. What does this signify? Is it to "renew" Russian "historical rights"? We know that the Soviet Government advocates the principle of "renewal of hisotircal rights" in its solution of territorial problems with neighboring countries. The Soviet Government says that China's northern border is at the Great Wall, or at best no farther than the "Willow Twig Edge" of the Liao River delta, its western border "no farther than the provinces of Gansu and Sichuan."¹⁸ This "border" drawn by the Soviet Union for China greatly differs from the straight line border plan drawn by the tsarist army general, Kuropatkin, but is in fact in keeping with the more thorough proposition of the tsarist invader of China, Muraviev, that in China "we can do whatever we want; we can draw whatever border wherever we want it."¹⁹

We must say that the Soviet Union is committing an anachronistic mistake when it still wants to renew Muraviyev's old dream, and that it would only be banging its head against the wall.

II. At the same time that the Chinese Government is pointing out the inequality of the Sino-Russian treaties in regard to the present Sino-Soviet border, it is also agreeing to start from these treaties as a basis for solving the border problem.

From the beginning of the negotiations, the Chinese Government has initiated such an important concession. This is almost unprecedented in border negotiations between any two countries in the world. But the reaction of the Soviet Government is to take a foot after having gained an inch. Not only will it not

recognize the inequality of these treaties, it will not agree to have these treaties as the only basis for resolving the Sino-Soviet border problem, thus creating another great obstacle to Sino-Soviet border negotiations.

Originally, Lenin and the Soviet Government under his leadership advocated doing away with all treaties signed between China and tsarist Russia.

Prior to the success of the October Revolution, Lenin said that capitalists "regard it as shameful when they do not keep treaties made between capitalist countries, just as kings regard it as shameful when they do not carry out agreements between kings." But "workers consciously advocate that all these treaties be abolished."²⁰

After the October Revolution, the Soviet Government under Lenin declared and clarified many times to China and thoroughly exposed and condemned the crimes of tsarist Russia in the forcible occupation of Chinese territory and in oppressing and plundering the Chinese people. The Soviet Government in the 27 September 1920 declaration to China clearly stated that "all previously signed treaties between the Russian Government and China are ineffective, that it will relinquish all previously seized Chinese territory and all Russian-leased area within China and that it will return, unconditionally and forever, to China what the tsarist government and Russian capitalists seized by force from China." In the 4 September 1923 clarification to China, the Soviet Government further declared that it had formulated a policy in regard to peoples in nations based "on complete respect for the sovereignty of other nations and on completely relinquishing all land and property taken by force from the people of other nations. This policy will also hold true in regard to China."

In the "Agreement Outlining the Resolution of Pending Sino-Soviet Cases" signed in May 1925, it further stipulated that in a bilaterally agreed upon conference, "it will abolish across the board all pacts, treaties, agreements, protocols, contracts and other similar documents between the Chinese Government and the former imperialist Russian Government, and draw up new treaties and agreements based on equal, mutually fair principles and in the spirit expressed in the various declarations issued by the Soviet Government during 1919 and 1920. It will also "draw up new boundaries, and before the new boundaries are determined, the status quo is to be maintained." Based on this agreement, China and the Soviet Union convened a meeting in 1926. But because of the historical situation at that time, no agreement was reached concerning the border question, no new equal treaties were signed, and the Sino-Soviet border problem is as yet unresolved.

At its inception, the Government of the People's Republic of China solemnly declared to the world that in regard to the various treaties and agreements signed between foreign countries and old China, they would either be recognized, abolished, revised or renegotiated according to their content and on a case-by-case basis.

As for the Sino-Russian treaties concerning the present Sino-Soviet borders, the PRC Government has made a careful study. Despite the fact that these treaties are not equal, it holds the Soviet people to be blameless since these treaties were forced upon China by imperialist tsarist Russia when both peoples were in a "powerless situation"; at the same time, in consideration of the vast Soviet laboring population which lived permanently on these lands, the Chinese Government, out of a desire to maintain friendship between the two countries, is

prepared to accept the treaties as the basis to determine the entire alignment of the boundary line between the two countries and to resolve all existing problems arising from the borders.

Regrettably, the Soviet Union is not satisfied with inheriting the 1.5 million square miles of Chinese territory ceded by unequal treaties. Therefore, it is intentionally creating disputes over whether or not to use the Sino-Russian treaties as the only basis for resolving the problem. This point is reflected in published articles. In these articles, the Soviets also refer to the "legal basis of the treaties", but they say the Sino-Soviet border is not to be determined by the two countries but also is to be that "formed by history" and "actually guarded" by Soviet forces; these form what the Soviets call "existing boundaries". The boundaries they speak of as being "formed by history" and "actually guarded" sometimes sound as if they are the same as those determined by the treaties and as being of a straight line; at other times they sound like they are not the same but of three lines. In actuality, any clear-sighted person could see through this magician's game of words.

Historically, since the time tsarist Russia forced the signing of the "Treaty of Aighun" through military pressure, there has been a basic experience in the invasion of Chinese territory. That is, "it must use actual occupation to support the diplomatic demands of Russia."²¹ Since tsarist Russia followed a policy of a "thorough carving up of China,"²² after signing each treaty tsarist Russia would immediately try to break the determined boundary with an "actual occupation" of Chinese territory so that it could subsequently make new "diplomatic demands" on China and force it to sign a new cession treaty. This traditional maneuver has also been inherited by the Soviet Government. Today, the boundaries proposed by the Soviet Government in many sections have broken through in great degree from the boundaries determined by the treaties. One portion reflects the invasion and occupation of Chinese territory by tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union contravening the stipulation of the unequal treaties, but since the Soviet Government could not find any treaty basis for such a boundary, it had to invent the theory of "actually guarded" line and "historically formed" line. Another portion of the border barely reflects the scheme of the Soviet Union for invading and occupying certain Chinese territory; it has yet to be able to exercise "actual occupation" there and since such a boundary has neither a basis in the treaties nor can it be called "actually guarded," this portion of the border can probably only be called "historically formed". Because the Soviet Union drew such a line on the map yesterday, today it can be called "historically formed"! From this, we can see that the concepts of "actually guarded" and "historically formed" that the Soviet Government is playing on are not only abominable but also dangerous. They strongly smack of expansionism and gunpowder.

The Soviet Union attacks the Chinese Government for wishing to abolish the legal basis of the treaties concerning the Sino-Soviet borders and for "creating a new legal basis advantageous to China." But who should really bear the guilt for such a crime? Is it the Chinese Government, which advocates the use of the Sino-Russian treaties as the only basis for border resolution, or is it the Soviet Government, which creates a "historically formed" line and an "actually guarded" line besides that determined by the treaties? The Soviet side has time and again attacked China for making "territorial demands" on the Soviet Union. In actuality, to judge who is making the territorial demands is not difficult. The

Chinese position is to agree to the use of the unequal treaties as the only basis for resolving the border problem; whatever territory designated by the treaties to be China's shall be China's, that to be the Soviet Union's shall be the Soviet Union's. Here, not only do we not find a trace of China making territorial demands; but we can only see that the Chinese side has made a huge concession in terms of the territorial question. And the Soviet Government, aside from borders determined by the treaties, furthermore demands that "historically formed" lines and "actually guarded" lines also be observed as a "basis" for border problem resolution. This is to say, not only does the Soviet Union want to inherit the 1.5 million square miles of Chinese territory gained through unequal treaties by tsarist Russia, but it also wants to further relegate to itself territories which tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union occupied or intended to occupy contravening the treaties. This is indeed out-and-out territorial demands.

III. On 20 October 1969, China and the Soviet Union once again convened border talks. Prior to the conference, Zhou Enlai, premier of the Chinese State Council, and Kosygin, the Soviet premier and chairman of the conference, met at the Beijing airport on 11 September and reached an understanding which formed a basis and starting point for the border discussions. But again the Soviet Union changed its mind. And for many years now, even this understanding has become a topic of malicious Soviet attack on China. In this way, the Soviet Government once again created a new and huge obstacle to border negotiations.

At the meeting, Premier Zhou Enlai and Chairman Kosygin mainly discussed the border question, although, of course, they also touched upon other problems in the relations between the two countries. The two premiers agreed that the dispute over principles between the countries should not obstruct the normalization of relations between them; that the two countries should not go to war over the border problem; that Sino-Soviet border negotiations should be held without any form of threat, and to insure this, that both sides should sign an agreement to provide temporary measures to maintain the status quo, to prevent military conflicts, to disengage the armed forces of the two sides from the border dispute areas and, furthermore, to proceed to negotiate for resolution of the border problem. The two premiers further discussed the basic terms of these temporary measures and reached an agreement.

The Soviet Union refused to implement the understanding reached by the two premiers, and furthermore attacked China for requesting that the Soviet Union honor this understanding. The Soviets arbitrarily asserted that there exist no disputed areas on the Sino-Soviet borders, firmly disagreed on disengaging armed forces from the disputed areas, and opposed the prior signing of an agreement to maintain the status quo before a negotiation to resolve the border question. They fundamentally denied that the two premiers had reached a clear understanding on these issues. They even said that portions of the two premiers' understanding were fabricated by the Chinese.

Even putting aside the fact that the understanding between the two premiers was recorded, the denial of the Soviets is full of holes. The crux of the matter is: what problems exist on the points reached in the understanding between the two premiers? What causes the Soviet Government to be guilty of bad faith and to deny it so vehemently?

What are the areas of dispute? The Chinese Government has long pointed out clearly that they are "areas where different borders were drawn by each side discovered during the exchange of maps during the 1964 border negotiations." When the two premiers met, Premier Zhou Enlai made this explanation and it was accepted by the conference chairman, Kosygin, who himself explained that "an area of dispute is an area claimed by you to be yours and claimed by us to be ours." Now, the Soviet side, in all kinds of situations, such as in the editorial of the 1 April 1978 "PRAVDA" and in KAPITSA article published a few months ago in a foreign country, the Soviet side tried hard to prove that the Soviet Government, including its leaders, does not understand this clear and simple concept and proceeded to attack it after having forced a pile of obviously absurd definitions upon this concept. What glory this low-handed strategem can gain for the Soviet Government is greatly doubtful.

To say that there exist disputed areas on the Sino-Soviet borders is merely to objectively reflect that there exist areas which China claims belong to it and which the Soviet Union claims belong to it. We are not speaking of any reason for the formation of the dispute or of methods for resolving the dispute. This term, which puts both sides on a completely equal negotiating basis, could not be accepted by the Soviet Government after it had given it much consideration. From this, a question naturally arises: What position does the Soviet side want to put itself in?

"For the Soviet Union, there exists no disputed area." But there are so many differences in the borders drawn on maps of the two countries. What are these called? "All these are Soviet territory." But whose territory they really are cannot be determined to be so just because the Soviets say it is so. The Soviet Government is always trying to impose its wishes as laws which must be obeyed by China. How can this be?

"The border lines on the Chinese maps were drawn deep into Soviet territory according to China's wishes." "The Chinese side refuses to draw upon treaty documents as the basis of its suggested borders." But since the Chinese Government advocated the use of relevant Sino-Russian treaties as the basis for border resolution, the suggested borders would naturally be drawn based strictly on these treaties. On the other hand, it is the boundaries drawn on the Soviet maps which in many instances violated the stipulations of the treaties and were drawn deep into Chinese territory. What treaty bases are there? Despite the fact that outsiders cannot see the negotiations records, everyone knows that in the 24 May 1969 declaration and in the 8 October Foreign Affairs Ministry documents, the Chinese Government, using the borders in the Pamirs area and in the Heilongjiang and Ussuri areas as examples, drew upon relevant stipulations in the Sino-Russian treaties and irrefutably demonstrated this problem. This was made public to the entire world. That the Soviet Government bases its anti-Chinese attacks on people's forgetfulness is indeed pitiful.

If the Soviets recognize that disputed areas exist, they must "return them to China." This more or less reveals a bit of their real thoughts. The Chinese Government advocates using the Sino-Russian treaties as the basis to resolve the territorial ownership problem of these disputed areas. The areas are even stipulated as belonging to China in the Sino-Russian unequal treaties. So why

must the Soviet Government insist on holding on to them unreasonably? Why should they not be returned to China?

By determining the existence of disputed areas, China would "have provided a basis for making new territorial demands of the Soviet Union." So that is the reason! So the Soviet Union has an unexplainable reason for refusing so stubbornly to recognize the objective reality that there exist disputed areas on the Sino-Soviet borders. The Soviets are worried that this would start a chain reaction; because the territories which tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union seized from others through various excuses and schemes are innumerable.

The Soviet side is especially stubborn in its refusal to disengage armed forces from the disputed areas. It attacks China on this point saying that China is "hoping that the Soviet forces will be unilaterally disengaged from the disputed areas". But what is written in black ink on white paper is that "both sides will disengage armed forces"; whence comes the theory of "unilateral disengagement"? As mentioned above, the border lines drawn by the Soviet Union took away areas which belong to China according to the Sino-Russian treaties and which the Soviet forces have yet to be able to occupy; those areas are guarded by Chinese border patrol, an instance of which is Zhenpao (Damanski) Island. The moment an agreement is signed to disengage armed forces, the Chinese border patrol must, of course, withdraw from these disputed areas. This is extremely clear. That the Soviet Union is cranking out such alarmist theories can only reveal that it is unscrupulous in the anti-Chinese campaign.

The Soviet Government twisted the prior signing of an agreement to maintain the status quo at the borders into a "prior resolution condition" demanded by the Chinese for border negotiations and furthermore spread rumors that this was suggested after the meeting of the two premiers. In regard to this, the following must be pointed out. First, maintaining the present borders, preventing military conflicts, and disengaging armed forces from disputed areas prior to a resolution of the border problem through negotiation have always been advocated by the Chinese Government. As early as 23 August 1963, the Chinese Government, based on this spirit, transmitted a government note to the Soviet Union making six concrete proposals. How can this proposal have been suggested after the meeting of the two premiers in 1969? Second, during the meeting of the two premiers, they already reached an understanding concerning the prior signing of such an agreement. How can the request to honor the understanding reached by the premiers be a "prior resolution condition"? Third, signing such an agreement is based on the actual situation on the Sino-Soviet borders and is necessary in order to guarantee that the negotiations be carried out without disturbance or threat. In fact, not only were there serious consecutive military conflicts at Zhenpao Island and the Tie-lie-ke-ti areas during the reopening of border negotiations in 1969; there have been frequent incidents, including one not so long ago, in which Soviet military personnel crossed Chinese borders and killed Chinese people. Why can we not come to a prior agreement to take measures to guarantee border peace?

The Soviet side attempts to deny the understanding between the two premiers, claiming it does not have the "duty to accept a violation of its own good." Now it is clear! So the Soviet Government thinks that implementing the understanding

of the two premiers is a violation of its "good"! Only maintaining military oppression against China and implementing military threat is in keeping with its good.

The Soviet Government likes to regard it as a "tale" when others expose its threats. But fact is indomitable. To treat fact as a "tale" cannot change the reality of things.

The whole world knows that in the past 10 years, the Soviet Union has greatly increased its military strength in the areas bordering China, deploying more and more offensive weapons, forming battle area command units, and continuously carrying out various scales of military drills and activities spearheaded at China. This is what constitutes the military threat to China.

The world knows that Soviet military power entered and began to be garrisoned in the Mongolian People's Republic from the early sixties. In 1966, a military alliance agreement targeted at China was signed. Subsequently, the Soviet Union stationed and concentrated a large amount of military strength within the Mongolian Republic, established a military base and pushed the Soviet military forces to an area only several hundred miles from Beijing, thus creating a military threat to China from the Mongolian Republic territory and from the Sino-Mongolian border.

The whole world knows that the Soviet Union supported South Vietnamese authorities to carry out area hegemonism and to implement military aggression against China, to invade and militarily occupy Cambodia, to realize control of Laos and to rig up an Indochinese alliance. The Soviet Union also schemed to set up military bases in Vietnam and other indochinese areas. Vietnam and the entire Indochinese area are being used as an anti-Chinese base.

The entire world knows that the Soviet Union is carrying out undisguised military invasion and occupation of Afghanistan, which is to the west of China, thus threatening world peace and the security of China.

Thus, the Soviet military strength created military threats to China from the north, the south and the west. This is ironclad reality, a live hegemonism existing between Sino-Soviet relations. The Soviet Government, on the contrary, strikes back by saying that China "attempts to influence the Soviet Union through war threats and applies pressure on the Soviet Union during border negotiations." Who will believe it?

The Soviet Union suggests the signing of an "agreement on bilateral disarmament," an "agreement not to invade one another," or issuing a declaration of principle concerning the relations between the two countries. It is as if this could prove that no Soviet military threat exists, that the relations between the two countries are normalized. But historical experience proves that Sino-Soviet relations have deteriorated to the present degree not because there was a lack of an agreement or declaration. Even the existence of a Sino-Soviet friendship alliance and mutual aid agreement could not prevent the Soviet Union from making and backing up so many military threats against China. Even now, the Soviet Union is refusing to sign any agreement on maintaining the present borders,

preventing military conflicts, and disengagement of armed forces from disputed areas. Yet it is enthusiastically devoting itself to "treaties", and "declarations" which do not have any realistic policy guarantees. What other use do these have except to cover up the Soviet Union's military threats against China and to deceive its people?

IV. Aside from a study of the stands of the Soviet Union and China in regard to the border question, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The Chinese Government advocates the distinction between historical rights and wrongs. It affirms that the Sino-Russian treaties concerning the present boundaries were unequal treaties forced upon China by tsarist imperialist Russia when the peoples of both countries were in a powerless position. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, purposely reverses historical rights and wrongs. It washes tsarist Russia clean of the crime of invading China and arbitrarily says that these treaties were treaties to "promote good-neighborly relations."
2. The Chinese Government advocates giving consideration to the actual situation, and with the treaties as a basis and through peaceful negotiations, to comprehensively resolving the Sino-Soviet border question and determining the complete alignment of the boundary line. China makes no demands to repossess Chinese territories which were ceded to tsarist Russia on the basis of these treaties. Yet the Soviet Government, aside from these treaties, further wants to use "historically formed" lines and "actually guarded" lines as a basis for resolving border problems, thus attempting to relegate to the Soviet Union territories which tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union occupied in violation of the treaties or territories which the Soviet Union wants to occupy.
3. The Chinese Government advocates that whichever party occupied the other's territories in violation of these treaties must in principle return them unconditionally to the other party. But both parties can, based upon the principles of equal negotiations, mutual understanding and concession, consider the benefit of the residents in the areas to make necessary adjustments in these border areas. Yet the Soviet Union stubbornly insists that there exist no territorial problems between China and the Soviet Union, and refuses to return territories which it unrightfully seized in violation of the treaties.
4. The Chinese Government advocates signing a new Sino-Soviet treaty to replace the old Sino-Russian unequal treaties to demarcate boundaries. But the Soviet Union only wishes to sign a new unequal treaty with the Chinese which would further cede Chinese territories to the Soviet Union. Then, the Soviets want to "adopt modern methods to establish boundary markers" in order to strengthen their new expansionist results.
5. The Chinese Government advocates the implementation of the understanding reached by the two premiers--that is, before the complete resolution of the border question through peaceful negotiations, the two countries are to maintain present borders, to avoid military conflicts, to disengage armed forces from all disputed areas (i.e. areas with different boundaries drawn on maps exchanged during the 1964 Sino-Soviet border negotiations), and to enforce these by signing an agreement to maintain the present borders. But the Soviet Union violates the two premiers' understanding, refuses to disengage armed forces from

disputed areas, and obstructs the signing of an agreement to maintain the present borders in order to maintain its freedom of action to disrupt the border situation, to create military conflict and to apply military pressure on China.

The problem is very clear: a Soviet military threat to China and Soviet hegemonist policies toward China--these are the basic obstacles to the resolution of the Sino-Soviet border question; they are also the basic obstacles to the realization of normalization of relations between the two countries.

Footnotes

1. Vasiliev, The Zabaikal Cossacks, Printing Press of the Logistic Division of the Zabaikal Cossack Troops (1918), III, p 126.
2. Bukgevdew, "The Peking Treaty of 1860," Lushunkou (1902), p 230.
3. "Record of the Sino-Soviet Talks During the Signing of the Ili Agreement," recorded in "The Diary of the Russian Envoy," p 121.
4. "Complete Works of Marx and Engels" (Chinese edition), XII, p 168.
5. Ibid. pp 625-626.
6. Ibid. pp 662, 664.
7. "Complete Works of Lenin" (Chinese edition), IV, pp 335-336, 338.
8. M.S. Kapitsa, "Soviet Union-China: Good Wishes and Abominable 'Concept'", Bulgaria "In the World," XLVII (21 November 1980).
9. Report by Gromyko at highest-level Soviet conference held 10 July 1969.
10. "Pu-lo-huo-lo-pu", "On the Soviet-Chinese Border Question" (Moscow, 1975), p 119.
11. Ibid. p 134.
12. Bie-si-ke-lo-fu-nei, qi-he-wen-si-ji, and he-wo-si-tuo-fu, "On the History of the Formation of the Soviet-Chinese Border," Soviet Union "International Living", VI (1972).
13. Pu-lo-huo-lu-fu, p 133.
14. Ibid. p 167.
15. Gu-lie-wei-qi, "Tales of the South China Sea", Soviet Union "Literary", XXXIII (15 August 1979).
16. Bie-si ke-lo-fu-nei qi-he wen-si ji, and he-wo-si-tuo-fu op. cit.

17. Pu-lo-huo-lo-fu, op. cit.
18. Soviet official declaration of 13 June 1969.
19. Barsukou, "Muraviyev, Count of the Amur" (biographical material), (Moscow, 1891), I, p 597.
20. "Complete Works of Lenin" (Chinese edition), XXIV, p 192.
21. Ba-bu-ke-fu, "Memoirs of Service in Siberia, 1859-1875," (St Petersburg, 1912), p 250.
22. "Complete Works of Lenin" (Chinese edition), XXIII, p 125.

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CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

BADEN-WUERTTEMBERG MINISTER--Beijing, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Helmut Engler, minister of science and art of Baden-Wuerttemberg, West Germany, and his party left here this morning to tour other Chinese cities before going home. The West German guests arrived in Beijing 26 October at the invitation of the Chinese Ministry of Education. They were honored at a banquet given by Jiang Nanxiang, minister of education, and held talks with Chinese officials on strengthening exchanges in the fields of science and education between the two countries. [Text] [OW010857 Beijing XINHUA in English 0251 GMT 31 Oct 81]

CSSR-GDR JOINT STATEMENT--Prague, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--Leaders of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic today drew attention to the "grave danger" in the Polish situation. They pledged continued support for the Polish communists and patriots to defeat the attacks by counter-revolutionaries, resolve their problems at home and consolidate the socialist system in Poland. This is contained in a statement released here today following a two-day working visit to Czechoslovakia by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the German Socialist Unity Party and chairman of the State Council of the GDR, at the invitation of Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The two leaders also touched on bilateral relations in their talks. Honecker was accompanied on the visit by Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, and others. [Text] [OW020809 Beijing XINHUA in English 0728 GMT 2 Dec 81]

ERADICATION OF COLONIALISM--United Nations, 1 Dec (XINHUA)--The United Nations General Assembly today adopted a resolution calling upon the colonial powers to withdraw immediately and unconditionally their military bases and installations from colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones. In the resolution, the assembly reaffirms its determination to take all necessary steps with a view to the complete and speedy eradication of colonialism. It recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the people under colonial and alien domination to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by all necessary means at their disposal. It requests all states to withhold assistance of any kind from the government of South Africa until the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence is restored. The assembly also urges all states to provide all moral and material assistance to the oppressed people of Namibia. [Text] [OW020418 Beijing XINHUA in English 0233 GMT 2 Dec 81]

CSO: 4000/28

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY SESSIONS FOUND EFFECTIVE IN CLARIFYING 'RESOLUTION'

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Wang Xingye [3769 5281 2814] of the Propaganda Department of the Yanan local party committee and Lo Chingshan [5012 7230 1472]: "Work Hard at Uniting With Reality, Seek Effectiveness in Solving Problems--Guiding Ideology Is Clarified in 'Resolution' Study Sessions for Organizations in Yanan Prefecture"]

[Text] "The 'Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC' is an example of explaining problems through uniting theory with reality. In our study of the 'Resolution' we must also work harder in the area of uniting with reality and solving problems." This is a clarification of guiding ideology and some distinct points reached by the "Resolution" study sessions for leading cadres of the Yanan prefectural organizations and local units at the county and group level.

The "Resolution" study sessions, conducted under the leadership of the area party committees, were organized by the propaganda departments. So far, 3 terms have already been held, with approximately 110 persons joining in the study. The following are some of the main points gained from their study:

1. Aroused revolutionary spirit. The "Resolution" points out: "In the new historical period we must continue to maintain the noble revolutionary ideals and a flourishing revolutionary will." This greatly moved many of our comrades with somewhat greater party or work seniority. They recall the practice of carrying out revolution when it was a matter of life or death. A deep look into the origin of the loss of fighting spirit today amply expresses the need to arouse our spirits in order to carry on with the great socialist revolution and socialist construction. Gao Zhongtian [7559 0112 3944] deputy director of the Propaganda Department of a local party committee, spoke with great understanding when he said: "A flourishing revolutionary fighting spirit comes from resolute belief in the line, principles and policies of the party, and the mistaken influence of the left is a major poisonous germ stuck to the pillar that is the people's spirit. That the study sessions this time were able to perform the function of 'arousing energies to the fullest' was due to the fact that first we ideologically cleared up the question of the need to maintain unanimity with the party Central Committee."

2. Increased awareness of the correct party style. In the past, some comrades "could see, but not deal with" certain improper workstyles within the party. They would complain about those at higher levels and blame those at lower levels. After studying the "Resolution," their minds became clearer about dialectics, and they have already clarified the connection between "main currents" and "contributory currents," and have properly placed the connection between "the individual" and "the whole." They unanimously recognize that the workstyle of the party in power is related to the life and death of the party. We must not "wait for those at higher levels to initiate and look to those at lower levels to implement." "Let it begin with me" is the correct approach. The deputy director of the prefectural foreign trade companies, Dang Hongzhang [8093 7703 4545], and the deputy plant director of the Yanan Woolen Materials Plant, Bu Junren [0592 0193 0088], not only have plans for "providing their own security," but they have also made suggestions for strictly implementing the "Guiding Principles."

3. Increased determination to implement party principles and policies. Many comrades say that the study of the "Resolution" entails managing affairs in accordance with the "Resolution," and we must seriously carry out each of the principles and policies of the party. After returning from a study session, Zhu Lide [2612 4539 1795], the deputy bureau chief of the prefectural agricultural bureau, along with several leaders in the bureau, successively convened 3 meetings and separately implemented a joint wheat technology venture among 6 counties in the southern plains areas and 7 mountainous counties in the north to begin next year, and a joint technology venture among 40 rapeseed stations throughout the prefecture.

4. Firmly grasped ideological and political work. Having studied the "Resolution," everyone is much clearer about the meaning and demands of strengthening and improving ideological and political work in the new period, and recognizes that the production and existence of various evil tendencies are connected to the weakness of ideological and political work. If we want to further the socialist spiritual civilization along with the socialist material civilization, then we must firmly grasp the central link of using Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to educate and reform people. The second day after Chen Zhizhong [7115 5268 0022] the party cell secretary and chief of the prefectural Education Bureau, returned to the bureau from a study session, at a meeting of the party cell he told of what he had realized from his study of the "Resolution" and made suggestions for completely developing principles to strengthen ideological and political work and to uphold a body of ethical knowledge in the educational system. Also, along with the "leading group," he carried out detailed research on how to help each county train political class instructors for middle schools, how to develop work-study programs in schools, how to manage rural middle and elementary school education well after responsibility systems are put in place and other problems, and established new work plans.

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PARTY AND STATE

CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM IN INTEREST OF UNITY EMPHASIZED

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Xue Lianju [5641 6647 5282]: "To Forsake Criticism Is To Forsake Leadership"]

[Text] While summing up our party's historical experience, and especially its 1942 experience in rectifying the style of work at the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong called criticism and self-criticism one of the three excellent styles of work of our party and a remarkable hallmark distinguishing our party from all other political parties. Practice in the history of our party fully proves that whenever the weapon of criticism and self-criticism was properly used, comrades throughout the party and the people throughout the country were able to achieve unity, the revolution triumphed and various undertakings developed vigorously. Otherwise, everything went against our wishes. This tells us that how important it is to develop criticism and self-criticism along sound lines.

In fact, every revolutionary leader should view the conscientious exercise of criticism and self-criticism as an important measure to guarantee the correct implementation of the party's line, principles and policies, and the conscientious criticism of ideas, statements and actions contrary to or deviating from the party's line, principles and policies as a timely measure to correct mistakes and the best form of help in rescuing comrades found guilty of such mistakes. For this reason, it can be said that the conscientious development of criticism means correctly exercising the leadership of the party and that any attempt to cover up mistakes without criticism is a sign of abandoning the leadership of the party.

Recently, bourgeois laissez-faire inclinations and other social trends of thought which deviate from the socialist orbit and the leadership of the party have prevailed on the ideological front. They have come in the wake of the 10-year turmoil and the subsequent influx of bourgeois ideologies from abroad. This is a development that can surprise no one. As long as they are seriously dealt with, they can be conquered without difficulty. But this requires that the party provide leadership and take bold and logical steps to criticize such unhealthy tendencies and to overcome this mentality of disarray and laxity.

We must overcome a tendency to turn our guiding ideology leftward and must realistically exercise criticism and self-criticism. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" practiced factionalism under the pretext of criticism and self-criticism. Our party's excellent tradition of criticism

and self-criticism was completely ruined by their massive efforts to "carry out cruel struggles and mount ruthless attacks" against the innocent. Many comrades, no matter whether they were in the position of critics or of those being criticized, all suffered frustrations from "criticism." It is no wonder that their minds are often dominated by misgivings, lingering fear, and even doubt and apprehension whenever the ideological struggle and criticism and self-criticism are mentioned within their hearing. In any case, this fear is no longer justified. As this ideological problem has been solved since the Third Plenum, and especially since the Sixth Plenum, any fear of criticism is not justified.

We must oppose the philistine bourgeois philosophy of life and honor our commitment as Communist Party members. We must overcome tendencies toward worldly cleverness and playing safe in our way of life and shutting our eyes to wrongdoing. Some people have adopted an ambiguous, illogical and compromising attitude toward wrongdoing. They are neither determined to uphold the principle nor determined to criticize or struggle against such wrongdoing. In this way, they have not only ruined the party's excellent tradition but also helped stimulate the growth of the laissez-faire tendency.

We must not fear the allegation of "wielding the stick" and must persist in developing criticism. The practice of wielding the stick under the pretext of criticism was a widespread practice under the influence of the leftist ideology, especially during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Today, it can be said that the restoration of the party's realistic ideological line has reduced instances of such wrongdoing to a minimum, while the number of people who reject criticism under the pretext of "wielding the stick in their faces" are on the increase. Clearly, there is a distinction between criticism and wielding the stick. Unity-criticism-unity is a formula which proceeds from a desire for unity and ends up with a desire for greater unity. This has been used as a criterion for developing criticism along sound lines. Wielding the stick means punishing people. This formula, which starts with a malicious desire, will certainly reap bitter fruits. A revolutionary leader should be openminded, reasonable and fair in mounting criticism and struggle against unhealthy tendencies, misleading statements and wrongdoing. If he gives up his duty to criticize and struggle in the face of opposition from his adversaries or gibes from other individuals, that means that he has no spine.

We must rectify the name of criticism and self-criticism and restore and carry forward this excellent tradition of our party. Only by correctly controlling and using this weapon can we put ourselves in a better position to implement the party's line, to quickly overcome all unhealthy tendencies and to vigorously develop and carry forward the party's cause.

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CSO: 4005/265

PARTY AND STATE

SYMPOSIUM URGES CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by Zhong Yuan [0022 0626], Hung Feng [7806 6912]: "Wuhan CPPCC Recommends Measures Overcoming Laxity and Weakness"]

[Text] The municipal CPPCC recently invited the responsible persons of various democratic parties and groups and people's organizations to a symposium held for the purpose of studying the documents of the national symposium on ideological questions, analyzing and studying manifestations and the causes of laxity and weakness in leadership on the ideological front in light of realities, and recommending measures for overcoming same.

Present at the symposium were more than 30 persons from various democratic parties and groups, people's organizations, nonpartisan groups, nationalities groups and religious circles.

The symposium was presided over by Yu Jintang [0151 0855 1016], vice chairman of the municipal CPPCC, and director of the municipal committee department of the united front. Vice chairmen of the municipal CPPCC, Zhou Youngzeng [0719 0737 2582], Xiao Zuolin [5135 0155 7207], Hou Qixin [0186 2630 2450], Wang Jiping [3769 7139 1627], were present at the symposium.

The attending comrades voiced unanimous support for Comrade Deng Xiaoping's important talk and Comrade Hu Yaobang's important speech. Their view was that it was timely and important for comrades of the Central Committee to point out the issue that the great guiding significance was not only that of the ideological front but of other fronts as well. It will certainly play a significant part in making the whole party and nation study and implement the spirit of the 6th Plenum of the 11th Party Congress and in developing the excellent situation since the 3d Plenum.

They took the view that since the Third Plenum distinct achievements have been scored on the ideological front embracing literary and art, theory, and press and publishing circles. But they could not lose sight of the fact that there have appeared tendentious questions worthy of serious attention, the striking one being the trend of bourgeois liberalism. Citing instances, the vice chairman of the municipal CPPCC and chairman of the municipal Democratic Revolutionary Committee, Xiao Zuolin, said: "Some people distorted the 'double-hundred'

policy and represented any guiding thought as imposing 'restrictions'; some works violated the four basic principles and distorted the party and state images; some workers wanted the party to 'govern without doing things' and represented all comments, whether good or bad, as wanton interference; the essential aim of all such acts and works is to break away from the socialist orbit and party leadership." Vice chairman of the municipal Democratic League, Lin Xianzhang [2651 2009 4545], and vice chairman of the Juisan Society, Zhou Yude [6650 5940 1795], said in their speeches: "Since the Third Plenum, literary and art work has been very active and successful and literary and art workers have created many good works but also some very undesirable works like 'Unrequited Love' which is disadvantageous to the people and to socialism and should be criticized. But some people took a compromising attitude toward these questions of right and wrong over major principles. Some people knew there were errors in some works but, in consideration of selfish ends, shielded them. Some people went so far as to express sympathy and support to such works. These abnormal phenomena are disadvantageous to the unfolding of correct criticism and self-criticism."

Yang Sheng [2799 8508], chairman of the municipal Democratic League, and Ming Daoxin [2494 6670 0207], vice chairman of the municipal Association for Promotion of Democracy, analyzed the root of the bourgeoisie, saying that bourgeois liberalism has its social and historical roots in, and is mainly an aftermath of, the 10-year turmoil and the corrosive effects of bourgeois ideology from abroad. They said that individual cases should be concretely analyzed. But the main problem does not lie in this phenomenon, but in the mental state of the leading body in dealing with it. Is the leading body so weak and powerless that it lets the phenomenon take its own course? Or is it so bold as to conduct stern criticism and necessary struggle against it? Although the Central Committee has time and again reaffirmed and emphasized the four basic principles that must be upheld, the instructions have not been effectively implemented in some cases. If the leading body dares not crack down on, criticize and fight speeches and actions that violate the four basic principles, and if they let such speeches and actions spread unchecked, a great harm will be done to our revolutionary cause.

The attending comrades held that whether principle can be adhered to, the upright supported, the evil overcome and correct things upheld will depend on one important question, i.e., whether criticism and self-criticism can be correctly unfolded. In the field of literature and art, correct unfolding of literary criticism is the main approach to the problem of party leadership in literature and art. The attending comrades expressed hope that everybody will take up the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, conduct criticism and self-criticism regularly, normally, scientifically and militantly and that through criticism and self-criticism the unity among the people will be strengthened and a flourishing development of socialist construction will be brought about.

PARTY AND STATE

PRACTICE OF HONEST, CANDID CRITICISM LEADS TO UNITY

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 17 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Li Pu [3810 2613]: "Honest, Candid Friends Are Invaluable"]

[Text] To say something that truly touches the hearts of people is generally considered an art which calls for a clear and lucid statement of the truth about a subject of interest that appeals to reason. In his speech to a meeting of literary and artistic workers, Comrade Zhang Jinfu [1728 0513 1133], first secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, really said something that touched their hearts. He said: "As comrades-in-arms, we need to be honest and candid with each other. Only in this way can we become friends for mutual help."

Converting comrades-in-arms into honest, candid friends is an idea that is worthy of promotion. The term "honest, candid friends" refers to those who are capable of frankly and directly persuading one another to correct their mistakes. Since men are not saints, is there anyone who is infallible? What is the best way for us to assess the progress made by others? The most visible sign is an indication as to whether they have overcome their original shortcomings. People can hardly believe that a man who often turns a deaf ear to criticism of himself from his friends can make any progress. Honest, candid friends are invaluable. Engels once said: "Neither mutual understanding nor unity can be achieved without going through the process of criticism." Only honest, candid friends can meet each other in good faith. Only by correctly practicing criticism and self-criticism can we unify our thinking behind the common cause, enhance unity, and develop our undertakings vigorously. We must offer erring comrades-in-arms and their work friendly criticism, persuade them to correct their mistakes, and do everything in good faith, so that we can cure the sickness and save the patient. These are obligations we must honor as comrades-in-arms. Only in this way can our services be appreciated by them afterward. A North Jiangsu political consultative councilman who suggested something to Comrade Chen Yi in person in October 1940 was still appreciated by the latter 24 years later. At that time, Comrade Chen Yi was 63 years old. In recognition of this suggestion, Comrade Chen Yi said poetically: "Honest, candid friends who dare to criticize you in your presence are hard to find these days." On the other hand, there are some people who always tend to mention achievements instead of shortcomings and who want to dwell on the beauty of flowers but hate to clean up the superfluous branches and twigs from trees. People who act this way can neither be called sincere friends nor friends for mutual help. Friendship built along these lines can never survive the test of time.

Of course, candid and honest criticism aimed at correcting mistakes does not mean encouraging people to wield axes and indiscriminately destroy everything, both good and bad. Like a deft and clever artist working on a delicate piece of jade, we must carefully and meticulously remove defects from literary works and add luster and splendor to them. In helping comrades to evaluate literary works, we must sincerely criticize them at a controlled pace. We must accurately distinguish what is good from what is bad, what is right from what is wrong, and beauty from ugliness. Only in this way can we polish a crude stone into a beautiful piece of jade.

Honest and candid friends are invaluable. The same is true of honest and candid criticism.

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CSO: 4005/211

PARTY AND STATE

GUANGDONG PROVINCIAL PARTY COMMITTEE STRESSES SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Oct 81 p 1

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial Party Committee of the Chinese Communist Party recently held a series of discussions on the construction of spiritual civilization, and published and distributed outlines and notices on the discussions. The notice pointed out that constructing socialist spiritual civilization is a tremendous undertaking which should be emphasized by the whole party. Party organizations, government departments on all levels, various enterprises, business units and mass organizations should study conscientiously the attitude of the Central Committee concerning the construction of spiritual civilization, and strive to grasp well the task. Regions with special economic zones such as the city of Canton, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Swatow, etc, should perfect this task in particular.

This forum on constructing spiritual civilization was convened under the leadership of comrades of the provincial party committee. The discussion laid stress on studying and discussing measures in launching an in-depth and long lasting campaign of the five stresses and four points of beauty in the construction of socialist spiritual civilization with sanitation and courtesy as focal points.

The notice said the historical experience since the founding of the country has taught us that the construction of socialist spiritual civilization is a strategic task of great meaning. Not only should we strive to construct a high level of material civilization, we should also construct a high level of socialist spiritual civilization. Without the construction of those two aspects, it is impossible to build a great and strong socialist country, not to say realizing socialism in the future. The notice pointed out that being situated at the southern gateway of the country, our province is adjacent to Hong Kong and Macau, in addition to the fact that, in recent years, special policies and flexible measures have been adopted to further open our country to other countries so that the spiritual outlook and the degree of civilization of the cadres and the masses is of great importance internally as well as externally; at the same time, the struggles for and against corrosive influences are more important in our province than in others. Hence, it is of great significance that we should grasp well the task of constructing spiritual civilization.

The notice emphasized that whether the leadership of a city, a region or a unit is correct in constructing spiritual civilization or whether it is actively

involved or not is a good reflection on the spiritual outlook and civilization level of such leadership team in question. The provincial party committee held that we should use the degree of accomplishment on the task of the construction of spiritual civilization as one of the main criteria for evaluating the team of leaders of a city, a region or a unit.

The discussion session had fully confirmed the education on grasping the construction of spiritual civilization, carrying out socialism, patriotism, and collectivism, and the launching of the campaign of the five stresses and four points of beauty in the preliminary period, and at the same time emphasized that inadequate understanding of the meaning of constructing socialist spiritual civilization, and ineffective measures do exist among certain cadres, leading cadres in particular. Some are obstructed by their inadequate ideological recognition so that the campaign of the five stresses and four points of beauty is hampered.

Firstly, some people think that since the material conditions are so poor at present, it is pointless to talk about spiritual civilization, and that spiritual civilization will improve with economic progress. Secondly, some think that stressing sanitation and courtesy is merely emphasizing the insignificant and neglecting what is really significant, and is not paying attention to the real issues. Thirdly, some think that carrying out the campaign of the five stresses and four points of beauty and laying emphasis on civilization and courtesy is but a hypocritical style of the capitalistic class. The forum analyzed these views from the standpoint of integrating theory with practice and pointed out that spiritual civilization cannot be severed from certain material conditions, but it is by no means a derivative nor an appendage of material civilization. We should note that people's thinking will automatically improve with economic progress. We should not regard spiritual civilization and material civilization as opposites, nor should we regard as trivial the construction of spiritual civilization. The forum emphasized that the construction of spiritual civilization and the carrying out of the five stresses and four points of beauty is exactly for the purpose of reviving and promoting the traditionally good workstyle of the party, rectifying the social trends that were once destroyed, and fostering our national spirit for the accomplishment of the four modernizations. Hence, everybody is responsible and nobody should regard it as a trivial matter.

The forum held that, according to the conditions of our province, we should lay stress on improving courtesy and sanitation as the focal and starting points for other aspects of the task of constructing spiritual civilization and carrying out the five stresses and four points of beauty. The task of sanitation should be carried out with special emphasis on urban areas and tourist resorts, with rural areas next. The forum demanded that various trades should integrate their own characteristics and adopt various modes and forms of implementing concretely the five stresses and four points of beauty, and that everybody should contribute his share for the construction of socialist spiritual civilization.

The forum emphasized in particular that leadership is the crux of the matter for reaping good results from an in-depth and long lasting construction of

spiritual civilization and the five stresses and four points of beauty. Party committee cadres of various levels should be united in their understanding and treat this task as a strategic task of great importance, including it as part of their routine duties, and they should appoint a secretary to be in charge of the task; to study, organize, supervise, urge and to sum up experience and perform the task regularly and with persistence. In carrying out the campaign of the five stresses and four points of beauty, the leading cadres of various levels should take the initiative and really implement them, instead of just following the prevailing trend or engaging in formalism; all cities and towns of the whole province, and the major cities in particular, should start from practice in formulating long-term plans and goals for 3 to 5 years and short-term plans for the current year and the next one in the construction of spiritual civilization. Each city should accomplish several good deeds for the masses during a year; grasp well the basic construction of urban sanitation; grasp models and set up good examples; and at the same time advocate that regulations and laws on sanitation and courtesy and their supervision and maintenance be established through legislation.

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PARTY AND STATE

HARBIN HOLDS FORUM ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK, LITERATURE, ART

Harbin HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Strengthen Party Leadership, Overcome the State of Laxity and Weakness"]

[Text] In accordance with the Harbin municipal party committee's instructions, its Propaganda Department recently held a forum on ideological problems, calling for conscientiously implementing the guidelines of the related instructions of the Central Committee.

The forum was attended by Wang Zhao [3769 6856], second secretary, and Yao Xuerong [1202 1331 5816], deputy secretary of the Harbin municipal party committee. Comrade Wang Zhao spoke at the forum, which was presided over by Niu Naiwen [3662 0035 2429], member of the Standing Committee of the Harbin municipal party committee and director of the Propaganda Department. Also present at the forum were more than 80 representatives of literary and artistic circles and journalistic and theoretical fronts.

The subject of study by comrades at the forum were important speeches by leading comrades on the Central Committee. Their other tasks were to endorse what they had achieved, to review the existing problems taking into account the actual situation on the ideological front in Harbin, and to mount criticism and self-criticism, which helped them increase their consciousness of the needs to improve and strengthen leadership over the ideological front, to overcome the state of laxity and weakness, to vigorously develop socialist literature and art, and to do good propaganda work. The forum also helped them strengthen confidence in their work.

After reviewing the current situation on the ideological front in Harbin, comrades at the forum said: Since the Third Plenum, efforts have been made by the sectors of literature, art, theory and journalistic work in Harbin municipality to conscientiously and thoroughly implement the party's line, principles and policies and to uphold the four basic principles. The works presented by literary writers, performing artists, journalists and theorists are basically healthy. These are achievements which should be endorsed. The teams on the ideological front are mostly good. But we must also be aware of the wide prevalence of the offensive bourgeois laissez-faire influence and the existence of lax and weak leadership over the ideological front. Also evident on the literary, artistic and ideological fronts is a clash of interests between allegiance to the four basic principles and the implementation of the "double-hundred" policy. Writers still view freedom from restrictions on themes and freedom of writing as permission to write whatever they wish.

PARTY AND STATE

LIFE OF OLD-LINE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY RECOUNTED

Beijing BEIJING WANBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Deng Yunxiang [6772 0061 6763]: "The Relationship Between Zhang Taiyan [4545 1132 3508] and Shen Jin [3088 5660]"]

[Text] In his article entitled "A Few Anecdotes of Mr Taiyan," Lu Xun quoted a poem in memory of Shen Yuxi [3088 4416 1585] by Zhang Taiyan which read: "I have missed Mr Shen too long. Only lakes and rivers know his whereabouts. I mourn in deep grief a hero whose body now lies in a state of rest at the gate to Yijing. Monsters and ghosts are ashamed to compete with him for prominence. His articles are always marvelous to the people. Please let me join him in hell. New graves will be dug north and south of the Yangtze." The poem was written when Zhang Taiyan and Zou Rong were serving prison terms together in Shanghai on charges of their being involved in the case of the newspaper SU BAO.

At that time, Zou Rong replied to this poem as follows: "The level of the central plain has long been sinking. A hermit turned out to be a hero. The entire world seemed unresponsive to his outcries until he was hanged at the gate to the capital with his eyes gouged out. The blind must feel deeply sorry. It takes an endless song to recall the heroic soul of the nation. If everyone wants to take care of his own head, who will write an epitaph for his tomb?" Lu Xun gave no introduction to Mr Shen Yuxi in his article. There was only a brief account of his life in the new book "Autobiography of Zhang Taiyan Arranged According to Chronological Order." I think that it is worthwhile here to give an account of Shen Yuxi's life, in memory of a martyr who died for the cause of the old-line democratic revolution prior to the 1911 revolution.

Shen Yuxi, alias Shen Jin, was a native of Hunan. His original name was Shen Yuqi [3088 3342 3305] until he adopted another name, Shen Beishan [3088 0554 1472]. Placed in charge of the editorial department of a newspaper, he secretly joined a revolutionary organization called "An Independent Army," which was devoted to disseminating revolutionary ideology, until he was betrayed by an intimate friend, Mr Wu, who was a native of Yunnan. He was arrested in Beijing and detained in the Ministry of Justice prison. He was beaten to death in prison, in accordance with a secret order from Empress Dowager Nara which denied him a public trial.

Mr Wu, who betrayed his friend in exchange for an official position, was former associate lecturer at the National Academy. He had been relieved of that position because of his involvement in a crime. Empress Dowager Nara restored him to his

original position as a reward for the information that led to the arrest of Shen Jin. After the 1911 revolution, Wu became an adviser to Yunnan's warlord Long Jiguang [7893 3444 0342]. Later, he died of a mental disorder.

Among the documents recording the death of Shen Jin is a book by old man Xia Zhichao [1115 2655 1560]. Entitled "An Account of Tidbits From the Old Capital," the book says: "Shen was beaten to death in accordance with a secret imperial order. He was struggling with intolerable pain from the sticks. When he asked to be hanged, prison guards just winked without giving him rope. Finally, he untied his shoestrings and hanged himself."

Although more or less detailed stories of this sort can be found in other books, their essence is generally the same, despite minor discrepancies. According to these stories, after Shen was imprisoned he was beaten to death in accordance with a secret order from the Empress Dowager. When a prison official read the order to him, Shen appeared calm and composed and requested that the order be executed as quickly as possible. He was beaten for 3 hours until he died, and was praised as an ironman by all the prison officials and guards present. Nearly 2 years after his death, Wang Zhao [3769 3564] who was to become a phonologist, was arrested and detained in the Ministry of Justice prison. He was assigned to the same prison cell where Shen had died. Upon entering it, he saw the walls still stained with Shen's blood.

Originally, the Qing Dynasty had laws which were called the "Legal System of the Great Qing Dynasty." These entitled every criminal to a public trial before a sentence was handed down by the Ministry of Justice. But such laws were abused by the vicious, muddleheaded Empress Dowager, who often ordered the Ministry of Justice to execute suspects of a crime without a public trial. Shen died a heroic death. Some documents recording his death will make the reader feel too sad to go on. The passage from Taiyan's poem, "Please let me join him in hell; new graves will be dug north and south of the Yangtze," is also very touching. When Taiyan was detained in prison at the Shanghai International Concession, he was prepared to die. Actually, the Manchu government spared no effort in negotiating with the International Concession authorities for Taiyan's extradition. If this conspiracy had succeeded at that time, his life would have been in great danger.

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CSO: 4005/211

PARTY AND STATE

FOUR MODERNIZATIONS REQUIRE DOERS, NOT TALKERS

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Ming Yu [2494 5038]: "What Kind of Man Are You?"]

[Text] Looking at this topic, it is possible that some persons will find it difficult to fathom. Some people will think I mean being a writer or a mathematician, and this is very natural. However, I am not speaking in those terms here. What I am talking about is some phenomena I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, and have been exercised about for a long time. A look at a cartoon will illustrate this topic.

In this cartoon some people are planting trees, and at their side is an individual shouting to them as if directing them. After a while, the people planting trees carry him over ~~to a~~ place beside a crop field and tell him to continue shouting there, where his shouting will scare away small birds that damage crops. The cartoon is captioned: Using one's talents to the fullest.

One can see that the cartoon is meant to be a criticism of such people. They are leaders, but in directing work they follow the precept "the gentleman moves his mouth but not his hands," only shouting but not doing. Tentatively we can call such people "empty shouters."

The four modernizations cannot depend on shouting, and so empty shouts do not have much actual meaning for them. And once people become "empty shouters," the masses will certainly become disgusted with them and finally will have to put them in a suitable place--asking them to scare away birds. This cartoon was really an extremely good satire.

"Empty shouters" are not good, but there is also a kind of "critic" that will not do. The strong points of these "critics" is to comment on affairs of human life from the status of onlookers. In their eyes, it appears that "people throughout the world are drunk and only they are sober," that "their fellow countrymen are mediocre and only they are capable." With regard to the true and false, they are certainly not clear, and their comments on worldly affairs are not very helpful. Few of these critics are of any use.

At present there are also people who can be called "geomancers." For these people, nothing is as they wish; their speech is caustic and their actions are odd. What should obviously be fine words come from their mouths as grumbles, and with regard to their talk we must often adopt the "method of not listening." Such people not only do not like to do good work but also make it difficult for other people to do their work. They are unable to accomplish anything but liable to spoil everything.

Different from the "empty shouters," "critics," and "geomancers," there are at present the "men of action," who are respected by people. "Men of action" are found everywhere. RENMIN RIBAO publishes a special column in which their model deeds are recounted. There are also many men of action among the leading cadres. Wang Chonglun makes beancurd, mayors gain experience and observe public sentiment, county party committee secretaries stand fast at the first line in fighting floods, etc. Typical cases of this kind are endless. Recently the following case was reported in the press: A torrential rainstorm in southern Shaanxi Province washed out the railroad tracks, stranding over 1,000 travelers on a train at a small railroad station in a mountain valley populated by only a few households. Cut off from food, the travelers became panicky and order broke down. At this perilous juncture, a deputy army commander took charge. Together with railroad working personnel, he braved the rain to examine the dangerous situation; along with the responsible persons of the station and the train, he convened a meeting of representatives of the travelers; he formed the military passengers on the train into a group which took orders from the train's working personnel and protected the masses from danger. Then, through consultations with the station workers and liaison with nearby stations, food was brought in and several village households were mobilized to provide water and sell food, thereby restoring the passengers' spirits. This deputy army commander did not shirk his responsibility for doing what he could do and also for what he could not do alone. This was the spirit of taking action for the people and for the four modernizations; it was a rare spirit of taking action.

The people detest "empty shouters" and loathe "critics" and "geomancers." This is because only by action will morale be boosted, only by action will there be hope for the four modernizations. Communist Party members and the great numbers of cadres should strive to be men of action!

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PARTY AND STATE

MORE MINORITY CADRES IN YUNNAN GET TOP POSTS

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 81 p 1

[Report: "Our Province Selects 144 Minority Nationality Cadres for Leadership Posts"]

[Text] Kunming, 2 September (XINHUA)--Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, various places in Yunnan have selected 144 outstanding minority nationality cadres for leadership posts at the county level and above. Of them, 1 Hui nationality cadre has become a deputy secretary of the party provincial committee; 47 minority nationality cadres have become leading cadres of prefectures, autonomous prefectures, and municipalities; and 96 minority nationality cadres have become secretaries of county party committees, chairmen of standing committees of county people's congresses, or county heads.

This group of minority nationality cadres was produced through a process of being recommended from bottom to top, selected, and democratically elected.

In the governmental leading groups of 17 prefectures, autonomous prefectures, and municipalities throughout the province, minority nationality cadres now account for 43.75 percent of the chief cadres and for over 37 percent of the deputy chief cadres. Minority nationality cadres make up 53.7 percent and 61 percent respectively of the government leading groups in 8 autonomous prefectures and 19 autonomous counties.

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CSO: 4005/176

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF TRAINING YOUNG CADRES AS SUCCESSORS STRESSED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Sep 81 p 2

[Article in "Ideological Talk" column by Li Xiaoming [2621 2556 2494]: "Recalling the Lesson of Liu Bei's Experience"]

[Text] Whether a state is good at discovering and using talent has a bearing on its rise or decline, success or failure. The rise and decline of the Kingdom of Shu Han, as recounted in the book "History of the Three Kingdoms," illustrates this principle. It is still a lesson for us.

At first, in order to restore the House of Han in China, Liu Bei was courteous to the worthy and condescending to the scholarly, sought talent everywhere, and tried to obtain the services of the capable and the virtuous by showing his utmost sincerity and eagerness. For example, Zhao Yun sacrificed his life to rescue A Dou (infant name of Liu Shan, son of Liu Bei and last emperor of Shu Han) from the huge army at Changbanpo. Surprisingly, Liu Bei threw his dear offspring to the ground and swore: For this boy's narrow escape I have lost a great general! His love for talent exceeding his feelings as a father, he was so moved by Zhao Yun's death that he wept bitterly. Because Liu Bei put talent above everything else, he was able to obtain a wide array of talented men: for civil affairs there were Zhuge Liang, Pang Tong, and Fa Zheng; for military affairs there were Guan, Zhang, Zhao, Ma, and Huang, the "five tiger generals." Thus, by employing with high proficiency the strategy of his "grand scheme," he was able to realize his goal of "dividing China into three parts."

But, unfortunately, in his later years, after he had become master of what is now the western part of Sichuan Province, Liu Bei neglected to train a successor. Therefore, when he died and the old-timers one after another also passed away, promising younger men were few and far between and gradually it was felt that there were too many problems to cope with. For his sixth expedition to subdue Qishan, Zhuge/Liang first used an overrated fellow named Ma Miu as his vanguard, with the result that the strategic point of Jieting was lost; afterward, "as Shu Han had no great generals, Liao Hua was made the vanguard," but he also accomplished nothing. "To govern a country, it is necessary that worthy men be chosen,"--even though Zhuge Liang, faced with grim facts, uttered this sigh, he broke free from convention and chose a surrendered enemy general, Jiang Wei, to be his successor. But it was too late to give Jiang Wei much training, and he

died with his army on Wuzhang Plain. Truly, "if one sends out a man who has not completed his apprenticeship, one is the first to lose." From that time on, the fortunes of the House of Han declined even more disastrously.

It can be seen that when Liu Bei "threw down A Dou," although he was in a situation in which he was being pursued by the enemy and had not even the slightest foothold, Shu Han was able to survive catastrophe and advance toward prosperity, the key being the abundance of talented men. But Kong Ming [another name for Zhuge Liang] "was the first to lose," although he benefited from having a base in Zhou and Han for his northern expedition to the Central Plains; he worked hard to no avail and the situation went from bad to worse until in the end the Kingdom of Shu Han perished. A closely related reason for this was that Liu Bei made a big error in strategy by destroying the united front of the kingdoms of Wu and Shu Han against the Kingdom of Wei, but the important reason was the drying up of the pool of talented men. From this I am led to recall: Why was it that during the war years we, with "millet plus rifles," were able to defeat the enemy's aircraft, tanks and cannon, thereby becoming "sparks setting off a prairie fire"? Was this not precisely because we had a large group of the cream of a generation who went all-out to advance and were wise and full of stratagems?

Without the slightest doubt, this large group of veteran comrades were our party's precious wealth in founding and governing the state. However, because of the effect of natural laws, many proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation have already passed away, and the great majority of the veteran comrades who are still healthy are advanced in age, frail in physique, and lacking in vigor. Therefore, from now on we must make an extremely great effort to select and train thousands of cadres who have both ability and political integrity and who are in the prime of life, and let these comrades take part in all kinds of leadership work so that they will be tempered even more. Comrade Hu Yaobang has pointed out: "If we do not intensify the training of youthful successors, we will be committing an unpardonable historical error." This is an earnest and profound statement. Let us even do an even better job of shouldering the extremely important historical burden of training successors in order to avoid following the same old disastrous road of history!

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PARTY AND STATE

YUNNAN PLA CADRES RECEIVE POLITICAL, LEGAL TRAINING

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 81 p 1

[Article by She Dingjia [4357 7844 3946]: "Some Army Cadres Are Being Given Specialized Political and Legal Training To Prepare for Job Shifts"]

[Text] A group of PLA cadres who are changing jobs are being given specialized training in politics and law at eight locations in our province for a 6-month period in order to lay a good foundation which will allow them to be glorious and capable political and legal cadres.

According to authorities on the party Central Committee advising on the spirit of party policies, in order to strengthen the socialist legal system and protect the smooth progress of the four modernizations construction, the PLA has selected a group of cadres from below the regiment level whose ideological workstyle has been good, who have shown initiative in work, and who are able-bodied, to be transferred to the local political and legal work front. There has been intimate coordination between the troops and local areas, and several times meetings have been convened to discuss the problem of training the cadres to be transferred, to draft plans for the training, and to detach and assign cadres to do the work of training. Prior to 1 September, each unit carried out political education of those cadres changing jobs, and now they are being given professional training. At present, more than 200 cadres detached from public security and judicial departments are systematically teaching these cadres the basic knowledge required for political and legal work, as well as teaching them laws and regulations such as constitutional law, criminal law, litigation law and marriage law, and giving them professional knowledge of public security and the administration of justice.

Those cadres changing jobs have indicated that they will study arduously in order to protect the people's lives and socialist construction and will never fail to be worthy of the great trust placed in them by the party and the people.

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PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE AFFIRMS SUN YATSEN'S CONCERN FOR TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 81 p 3

[Article by Xiang Juan [0686 1227]: "Sun Yatsen Cared About the Fate of Our Taiwan Compatriots"]

[Text] Sun Yatsen always cared about the fate of our Taiwan compatriots. In 1895 Sun Yatsen met with several like-thinking friends and, using "Gan Heng Hang" as a front, established the headquarters of the Xing Chong Hui [the forerunner of the Guo Min Dang--KMT], and debated how best to capture Guangzhou. At that time the Qing government had just signed the "Treaty of Shimonoseki" with Japan, by which China abjured its rights and ceded territory. This treaty allowed Japan to occupy Taiwan and the Pescadores, extorted in indemnity of more than 200 million taels of silver and permitted Japanese capitalists to open factories in China. All of China's people were righteously indignant, vigorously opposed the ceding of Taiwan, condemned the Qing rulers as traitors and demanded the abrogation of this demeaning treaty. Sun Yatsen became even more embittered and infuriated and immediately made preparations to use revolutionary force to overthrow the Qing government. Sun himself took on responsibility for the administration of military matters, went to Guangzhou to preside over the necessary arrangements and led the first armed rebellion.

Prior to the Huizhou Rebellion, Sun Yatsen had gone to Taiwan. As soon as he set foot on the island he was surrounded by Japanese police. Once in Taipei, he was housed in the Japanese-run hotel and brothel, the "Mei Wu Fu." In fact, this was house arrest and he was not allowed any contact with the Taiwanese people. Some students in Taipei demanded an audience with him but were turned away by the Japanese police. But even though the Japanese suppressed all news of Sun's arrival in Taiwan, he still managed to make contact with some comrades living in Taiwan by using a Chinese cook as an intermediary.

The victory of the 1911 Revolution influenced and greatly encouraged the people of Taiwan and, with the support of the people of the motherland, the struggle of Taiwan's people to resist Japan increased. Among the members of the resistance, the movement led by Lo Fuxing was carried out under the direct guidance of the Tongmenghui. Lo Fuxing was from the Gaoen area in Zhenping County, Guangdong Province. When he was a child, he moved with his grandfather to Taiwan. Later, in 1906, because he couldn't countenance the discrimination and oppression of the Japanese, he returned to the mainland and joined the Tongmenghui. Some time later, the Tongmenghui sent Lo back to Taiwan to spread

revolution, build up an organization and lead our Taiwan compatriots in the struggle against Japanese colonialism. On 15 March 1913, Lo convened a meeting in Liaoli of the stalwarts from every area who were resisting Japan, and they issued a "Revolutionary Manifesto" exposing the violent regime of Japanese imperialism in Taiwan and calling on the people of Taiwan to unite and carry out a great rebellion throughout the entire province which would match the Revolution of 1911 and would drive out the Japanese enemy and recover Taiwan. But because of wholesale arrests, Lo Fuxing and others became brave martyrs to this cause while languishing in Taipei prisons. Later, the Tongmenghui on several occasions sent people to Taiwan to examine and investigate the revolutionary struggle of the people of Taiwan. Sun Yatsen said that a world tide was surging forward and that those who rode with it would prosper, while those who opposed it would fail. In commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Revolution of 1911, let us continue to work hard together to contribute to the great task of unifying the motherland.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEGATION OF NEGATION ISSUE IN SOCIALIST PERIOD DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 9, 25 Sep 81
pp 3-12

[Article by Zhang Jiangming [1728 3068 2494], Propaganda Department, Guangdong Provincial Party Committee: "The Issue of Negation of Negation in the Socialist Period"]

[Text] Epitomized from the development of Nature, the human society and the motion of thinking, negation of negation has become an important law of materialist dialectics. It remains universally operative in the socialist period, but its new conditions and new characteristics call for our full attention and conscientious study. This article will discuss some views on the negation of negation in the socialist period for common exploration and solution.

I. The negation of a socialist society is to create conditions for self-negation.

All things inherently contain a positive and a negative side, which are both opposed to yet united with each other and may convert under certain conditions. The positive side is the side which preserves the existence of things and, when in the dominant position, determines the nature of things. The negative side is the side which impels the extinction of things, aiming at changing and replacing the existing things. The struggle between the two sides, when developed to a certain extent, will cause violent changes, and the negative side will exercise a dominant influence and bring about qualitative changes. Things always develop forward, from the positive to the negative and vice versa. In the existing things of the capitalist society, for instance, the bourgeoisie is "the positive side of the opposition" and the proletariat its "negative side." "In the range of the entire opposition, the property owners are the conservative side and the proletarians the destructive side." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 44). The outcome of the struggle between them is that the proletariat overcomes the bourgeoisie and gains the dominant position, and the capitalist society is soon negated by the socialist society. The socialist society is a brand-new society in the history of mankind, and the opposing positive and negative sides are likewise found in it. Naturally, the positive and negative sides of a socialist society have their own

characteristics. As a part of the development process of history, the socialist society will not last forever, but will one day in the future be negated by the communist system. However, socialism today, as the positive side, is still in the period of ascendance. Compatible with the economic, political and ideological development at the present stage, its existence is rational and necessary, and it possesses a tremendous superiority. Meanwhile, the conditions for realizing communism, not yet complete, await their gradual creation in the socialist stage. "In the future, when socialism can no longer represent superiority, the superiority of communism will replace it." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 202). When communism arrives in the future, the social system will continue to improve, developing to a higher stage. The development process of the positive and negative sides of things will never end. Marx said: "The positive understanding of existing things in dialectics contains simultaneously their negative understanding, i.e., their inevitable extinction. Dialectics interprets any finished form from its continuous motion, and therefore, from its transitoriness. Dialectics will never worship anything. In terms of its essence, it is critical and revolutionary." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 24).

The negation of anything is the outcome of the development of its inherent contradiction. It is the basic cause for a thing to convert to something else. The negation of something old by something new is accomplished when the negative side of its inherent contradiction overcomes the positive side and becomes dominant in the contradiction. Therefore, the materialist dialectic negation is a self-negation, a negation in the development of the inherent contradiction, not an external negation as it is stressed in metaphysics. Among plants, for instance, the negation of a seed by the plant is always the self-negation in the development of inherent contradiction of the seed. In the realm of society, the negation of one society by another is also a self-negation in the development of the former's inherent contradiction. Apart from the inherent contradictions of things, it will be impossible for there to be self-negation. Therefore, self-negation is also known as inherent negation.

The negation of a socialist society is likewise an inherent self-negation, but it is basically different in nature and characteristics from the negation of a class society. First, in terms of the contradictory unity of the entire society, the negation of a class society is also the negation of one side of the contradiction by the other side. In this sense, it is still a sort of self-negation. This is the commonality of the self-negation of the various forms of society. However, in terms of the relations between the classes, the self-negation of a class society is not accomplished by the class in the dominant position, but by its opposing class, by the dominated and exploited class. Meanwhile, the negation of a socialist society is fundamentally distinguishable from the class society. Instead of being overthrown and negated by another class, the dominant class, viz., the worker class, actively creates conditions to accomplish self-negation. The completion of the socialist reform of the production means private ownership has eliminated the fundamental opposition between the exploiting and the exploited classes. Though the difference between the worker class and the peasantry still exists in society, it is a difference which is founded on identical basic interests--a difference among

the laboring people. With the high development of the productive forces and the tremendous improvement of the people's awareness, the socialist society is gradually advancing to the communist society. This period of transition is very long and cannot be "reached on double time." Only when the conditions are ripe will the socialist system be replaced and negated by the more advanced and more beautiful communist system. Therefore, the negation of the socialist society is a true self-negation. Second, the exploiting classes in the class society are unwilling to voluntarily relinquish exploitation and withdraw from the arena of history. To them, it is an issue of life or death. Not only unable to negate themselves, but they resort to all means, including force, to oppose and resist their negation, in order to preserve their positive position. In the history of social development of the past, the negation of one class society by another, especially when it involved eliminating the classes, such as the elimination of the capitalist society by the socialist society, was always accomplished by a violent struggle, even armed struggle. On the other hand, in a socialist society, the dominant position of the worker class, the status of the people as the masters of the state, the production means public ownership as the main form of ownership, and the equal, cooperative and comradesly relations among men have created the new characteristic in the development of socialism whereby a new stage negates the old stage, and a communist society negates the socialist society. It is completely consistent with the interests of the worker class and the masses, more beneficial to the people, and therefore sincerely supported by the broad masses. A socialist society is capable of creating conditions to negate itself.

On the issue of a socialist society creating conditions to negate itself, Marx once said that the worker class progressed in the course of criticizing the old world and itself. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The proletarians throughout the world are wiser than the bourgeois. They understand the laws of the existence and development of things; they understand dialectics; they have a greater foresight. The fact that the bourgeoisie does not welcome this truth is because it is unwilling to be overthrown.... To the worker class, the laboring people and the communist party, it is not a question of being overthrown, but calls for a strenuous effort to create conditions, so that the classes, state power and political parties naturally vanish and mankind attains the realm of great harmony." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, pp 1357-1958).

When discussing the negative side of socialism, we must also realize the existence of two factors in a specific period: One is the negative factor representing the advanced and the developing. As the advanced force promoting the progress of things in the entire course of motion, it is the major side, and will inevitably grow from small to big and reach maturity, furthering the gradual transition of the socialist society to a communist society. The other is that, within a specific period, there will be remnants of the exploiting classes which have been defeated but not yet thoroughly eliminated, and new exploiting elements, counterrevolutionaries and criminals. In addition, the international class struggle will inevitably be reflected at home, and the domestic class struggle within a specific sphere must not be overlooked. This

negative factor is a decadent force blocking the development of things. Under certain special conditions, it may overcome the positive factor and cause a regression. However, such phenomenon will never last. The victory of the revolutionary negative factor over the decadent force has become an inevitable law of the development of things, while the overthrow of the progressive positive factor by the reactionary negative factor is merely an interlude in the development of things and will be finally altered.

Creating conditions for self-negation is not easy, and there will also be contradictions and struggles. The issues of understanding, force of habit and personal interest are involved here, often interwoven. Man's understanding frequently lags behind society. When the development of the situation has reached a turning point of history, a new era, some people remain at the old stage, taking what they have always believed as "immutable truths," regarding the new things in the old light, manifesting the condition of mental ossification or semi-ossification, finding things offensive to the eye and frowning on them. Inevitably, such people, opposing self-negation, are unwilling and unable to negate themselves.

Following a certain productive pattern for a long time, or being accustomed to a certain way of thinking and a certain manner of living, will naturally create a force of habit. Lenin found that the force of habit of millions is a fearful force. Used to the old ways, they are reluctant to part from the old things, finding it hard to accept the new ideas, theories and policies, and are even suspicious and resentful. The moment there is an opportunity, they will slip back to the old ways. Since the founding of the nation, we have made great achievements, but we have also made mistakes, mainly "leftwing" mistakes. Working and living under the "leftwing" ideological guidance for a long time, a set of "leftwing" molds has formed in our ways of thinking and working, and we often interpret issues and perform work according to such molds. Therefore, some comrades find the party's correct lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session rightwing and "revisionist." One important reason is that the "leftwing" influence has not been completely purged.

After the elimination of the landowner class and the bourgeoisie from the socialist society, there will remain, for a long time to come, the differences among the workers, peasants and intellectuals within the people. As for the differences between the advanced and the backward and between the leaders and the masses, they will remain for an even longer period of time. With the development of the productive forces and the changes in the situation, the need to promptly change the old policies and old systems, formulate new policies, and introduce new economic and political systems will produce different reactions. Besides understanding, the issue of personal interest may be involved. To start with, the party's socialist policies are all beneficial to the entire people, but contradictions between current and long-range interests, between local interest and that of the whole, and between individual and collective interests exist. Seeing only the current and not the long-range and considering only the personal and not the collective, some comrades feel that the new policies and systems are unsuitable, or that they themselves may

"suffer a disadvantage." Thus, unwilling to negate, they oppose reforming the old systems which have already blocked the development of social production.

In view of the above, we can see that creating conditions ourselves for self-negation will run into resistance, and we must reinforce ideological-political work in many aspects, raise our consciousness and initiative of self-negation, overcome blindness, launch criticisms and self-criticisms, remove the mental block, eliminate the forces of habit, correctly handle the relations between the individual and the collective and between the part and the whole, and subjugate individualism, before we can pursue self-negation relatively smoothly.

To truly succeed in creating conditions for self-negation in the socialist period, attention must be given to the following three points:

1. We must strive to understand and master the development laws of the socialist society and start from reality in self-negation. We must not rely on subjective imagination or follow the theory of the will alone to determine just what should be negated, when to negate them and how to create the conditions. We can only act according to the objective laws, without the least bit of subjectivism. As it has not been long since socialism turned from an ideal to reality, to acquire a clear understanding of its laws is not a simple matter. However, in more than half a century, there are abundant positive and negative lessons of experience. After a conscientious effort, intensive investigation and study, and ideological emancipation, we will uncover and master such laws. In terms of the socialist society, it is likewise most important for us to guide the socialist construction by earnestly understanding and applying the laws of adjusting the productive relations to the productive forces, and the superstructure to the economic foundation, negating what should be negated and affirming what should be affirmed by seeking the truth from the facts. Furthermore, when negating what should be negated, we must still act according to the laws and characteristics of the socialist period and proceed cautiously and steadily.

2. We must, in accordance with the principles of the party's democratic centralism, fully develop the socialist democracy and decide on the negations under collective leadership and through collective discussions. Particularly in regard to the contents, time and method of negations involving momentous issues and the proposal of policies, limits and steps, we must follow the procedures found in the rules and laws of the party and the state, and no individual may override the organization and negate as he pleases. Only thus will we avoid one-sidedness, prevent mistakes, assure the accuracy of the negation and achieve favorable results.

3. We must conscientiously follow the mass line and negate according to the views and demands of the overwhelming majority. The Communist Party is for the people and for their cause and happiness, gradually satisfying their material and cultural needs. Therefore, in the socialist period, when it comes to the negation or affirmation of issues of interest linked with the people's livelihood, especially the momentous issues of the state, we must fully follow the mass line, widely gather the opinions of the people, develop the spirit of

the people as the masters, and decide according to their demands and interests. If the majority of the masses does not support negation, we must not act arbitrarily and rashly, but must wait, persuade them patiently and continue to create conditions, only proceeding when the broad masses have gained awareness and made demands. Thus, we will have a solid mass foundation, linking our hearts with their hearts, neither forging too far ahead nor lagging behind, advancing together with them.

The socialist society likewise cannot develop without negation. When the things blocking social development are not negated, the socialist society will not progress. However, while giving serious attention to negation in a socialist society, we must fully recognize the momentous significance of affirmation. The socialist period covers a long span. Since its negation is by creating the conditions itself, before the conditions are complete, there should be no negation, but firm affirmation. In a socialist society, we must not negate everything, everyday and all the time, for it will bring turmoil and unrest to the entire society. We can only negate what should be negated, not everything. At the same time, we must clearly affirm without vacillation what should be affirmed. We must steadfastly affirm the superiority of the socialist system, the accuracy of the socialist path, the four basic principles, the bright future of the inevitable victory of socialism in the whole world, and the lines and policies formulated by the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session, for they are compatible with the practical conditions of China's socialist revolution and construction at the present stage and with Marxism. The development of the socialist society from affirmation to negation accompanies the maturity of the objective and subjective conditions, gradually advancing from the low level to the high level.

Failing to recognize the fact that a socialist society can create conditions to negate itself, some people question the superiority of the socialist system, feeling that it "lacks the capacity to improve itself" and that it is not as good as capitalism. Incompatible with the objective facts, such view is very mistaken. Does it mean that capitalism has the capacity to improve itself and that it can exist forever without being negated? No. Though capitalism may adopt some measures or exercise administrative interference to revise certain productive organizations, alter the form of exploitation and increase some welfare to the people for the purpose of developing production, easing the contradictions and postponing the time of negation, basically it is impossible for it to avoid negation, because its basic contradiction is between the social nature of production and private ownership, which cannot be solved within the sphere of the capitalist system. The development of the conflict of interest between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the ceaseless outbreaks of economic crises push the capitalist society step by step toward extinction, to be finally negated by the socialist system.

The basic difference of the socialist system from the capitalist system is, as discussed above, the strong capacity of a socialist society to improve itself and to create conditions for its own negation. The reasons are: 1. After the basic completion of the socialist reform of the production means private ownership, the exploiting class, as a class, has been eliminated, the basic

interests of the workers and peasants are identical, and the intellectuals have become a part of the worker class. Their common interests not only demand, but are capable of, the prompt improvement of the imperfections and flaws emerging in certain links of the socialist system, making the appropriate readjustments and consciously and voluntarily performing partial negations. 2. The communist and the socialist societies are the different stages of the same social form. The socialist society can only gradually transit to the communist society with the extremely high development of the productive forces, the extremely large increase in material products, the ideological awareness of the masses and the extremely great rise of the spiritual civilization. In other words, replacing and negating the capitalist system with the communist system is compatible with the laws of social development and the basic interests of the broad masses, including the workers, peasants and intellectuals. In the course of its growth, i.e., from immaturity to maturity, from undevelopment to development, socialism needs to improve its own weaknesses and reform and negate the economic and political systems lagging behind the productive forces and the economic foundation. It is an inevitable demand of the development of history which the socialist system itself has the capacity to accomplish. 3. The Communist Party is the leadership nucleus of the socialist cause. Endeavoring to liberate the whole mankind as well as the proletariat, the party is unselfish and most farsighted. In accordance with the laws of social development, it formulates lines and policies, proposes measures to improve the socialist system, affirms or negates what should be affirmed or negated in the various periods and promotes the continuous progress of socialism. In the 32 years since the founding of the nation, the improvements of the socialist system itself and the overcoming of the several major setbacks were precisely thus accomplished. The serious proportionate maladjustments of the national economy caused by the 1958 great leap forward and the 10-year calamity created by the "Great Cultural Revolution," for instance, were both solved under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, especially the correct lines and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee which rectified the "leftwing" mistakes, improved China's socialist system, and enabled the economic construction to gradually step on to the track of sound development. As already proved by history, the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, representing the most advanced class and the most advanced system, guarantee that we will be able to correct our mistakes by our own strengths and create conditions to negate what should be negated. It is the manifestation of the powerful vitality of the socialist system.

II. The socialist period calls for self-negation according to the proper order and in a gradual process.

In the development of things, the forms of negation are manifold. Due to the differences in the motion of matters and in the nature and conditions of contradictions, the forms and methods of negation have their different characteristics. We clearly see in the world the differences in their negations between Nature and the society of man, between organic and inorganic matters, between physics and chemistry and between animals and plants. In social development, the negation of the feudal society by the capitalist society took one

form, while the negation of the capitalist society by the socialist society takes another. The socialist society, when negating the capitalist society, does not replace the old exploiting system with a new one, but endeavors to basically negate and eliminate all exploiting systems. Engels found that "the form of negation here is determined primarily by the general nature of the process and secondarily by its special nature." "Each kind of thing has its own special form of negation." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 182). Objective things are indeed so.

In the development of its history, the human society, by the time of socialism, entered the process of negation of negation, from a classless society to a class society, and thence to a classless society of a higher plane. The self-negation of a socialist society also has its own characteristics and forms of negation. What objective necessity does a socialist society base itself on in its self-negation? To put it briefly, it is self-negation according to the proper order and in a gradual process. Self-negation according to the proper order means conscientiously observing the objective laws of development of the socialist society and self-negating in the proper order and step by step. Such negation is progressive, not regressive, neither stagnation nor hasty and rash advance. It is to start from reality, act in accordance with the development of the productive forces and the level of mass awareness, follow the principle of gradual transition, and determine the forms, paths and methods of negation by seeking the truth from the facts. Meanwhile, the law of negation of negation in the socialist period does not act in isolation, but is closely connected with the historical period in which it finds itself, and interlocked and interacting with the laws of the unity of opposites and of the mutual transformation of quality and quantity, distinguishable yet inherently linked.

The process from socialism to communism requires a gradual transition. First of all, it is impossible for the socialist production means public ownership to be created in a society where the bourgeoisie owns all the major production means, but can only gradually grow and expand after a long transitional period when the capitalist system has been basically negated and a state of proletarian dictatorship created. Marx once conceived that the negation of the capitalist production means private ownership may follow two patterns: One is the method of confiscation, and the second is that of "redemption." Lenin suggested "redemption" by state capitalism. It was rejected by the Russian bourgeoisie which launched a frenzied resistance. The state capitalism followed in our country, advancing gradually according to the proper order and reforming gradually the capitalist production means private ownership to the socialist public ownership, was successful. Next, even with the creation of the socialist public ownership, it does not stop here. Such ownership demands not only the negation and elimination of the production means private ownership, but also the foundation of labor productivity and socialized productive forces of a higher level than capitalism in order for it to forge ahead. With the development of the socialist productive forces, it is even more imperative for the negation of a lower stage of socialism by a higher stage and that of the socialist society by the communist society to follow the proper order and advance gradually. In the socialist period, contradictions remain in general

existence. From their nature, a large number and the major ones of them are contradictions within the people, while a small number belongs in the category of contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. In regard to the nonantagonistic contradictions within the people, we must uphold the principle of "unity—criticism—unity" and solve them gradually. The process from quantitative transformation to qualitative transformation in a socialist society is generally accomplished by gradual transition, and such gradual transition is partial qualitative transformations in the total process of quantitative transformation. By means of partial qualitative transformations stage by stage and part by part, the gradual growth of new qualitative factors and the gradual extinction of the old qualitative factors are accomplished. Therefore, in terms of the characteristics of the gradual transition in the entire socialist period and the interrelations among the various laws, the negation of negation found in this period and reflected in philosophy must follow the proper order and proceed step by step.

Due to the complexity and diversity of things, though the negation of negation in the socialist period generally follows the proper order and proceeds gradually, it does not rule out the possibility of speed under certain special situations and peculiar conditions where the negation is accomplished at once. This also calls for our attention and study.

For the negation of negation in the socialist period to proceed gradually according to the proper order correctly, we must, in accordance with China's historical experiences, conscientiously prevent and combat two kinds of wrong tendencies.

One tendency is to negate prematurely before the conditions are complete, arbitrarily negating today what can only be accomplished in the future, disregarding the practical feasibility, failing to act according to the capabilities, feeling impatient for success and exceeding the current reality. Marx pointed out: "Regardless of the social form, before the entire productive forces which it can accommodate is brought into play, it absolutely will not extinguish; before the maturity of the material conditions for its existence in the embryo of the old society, the new and higher productive relations absolutely will not emerge." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 83). Every country has its special conditions. Whether revolution or construction, the basic stand is to start from the national conditions. Ours is an economically backward country, vast in area, large in population and weak in foundation, and its social life includes complex components in many aspects. Therefore, we must, under the condition of taking the socialist economy as the principal part, supplement it with manifold economic components and operation and management patterns before we can adjust to the needs of society. The socialist economy is still a commodity economy, and the law of value plays a necessary role. Therefore, the premature negation of the components and patterns of a diversified economy and individual operation will not work. Our rural villages realized collectivization too soon and too fast, but the progress of mechanization is relatively slow and so is the development of the productive forces. We must, in line with the development of the productive forces and the demands of the masses, gradually raise the level of public ownership and its scale, and guard against arbitrary and impracticable

orders. Therefore, prematurely negating family sidelines and private plots of the commune members, rural market trading, collective ownership and distribution according to labor and promoting "transition in poverty" and "advancing to communism on the double" were all extremely wrong and detrimental. Premature negation before the conditions are ripe will result in severing from reality, divorcing from the masses, "pulling on the shoots to help them grow," making waste by haste, damaging the social productive forces and encountering the punishment of the objective laws. In regard to matters which have been proven by practice to have been prematurely negated, we must not stubbornly adhere to our views, but must, by seeking the truth from the facts, retract the things which have been advanced too far, retracting them to the extent consistent with the objective laws and to the degree commensurate with the development of the productive forces and the awareness of the masses. Refusing to retract will not work; retraction is for the purpose of advance, and for greater advances in the future. The people wrongly negated should be rehabilitated, and given a just evaluation. The policies and theories which should not have been negated should be restored to their original status and continued to be implemented. It is a promotion of the socialist cause, not a retraction. At no time may we follow the theory of the will only, but must act according to the objective laws and advance according to the proper order.

The other tendency is failing to negate what should be negated when the conditions are complete, staying in a rut, remaining in a long stagnation, lagging behind the development of the situation and sinking into conservatism. When the socialist reform of the production means private ownership had been basically completed and the bourgeoisie as a class had vanished, we should have promptly shifted the emphasis of the party's work to the socialist modernization construction as the center. By stressing the class struggle day in and day out and halting at the old stage, we inevitably magnified the class struggle, failed to concentrate our effort on the economic construction and created evil consequences. China's current economic management system is basically copied from Stalin in the fifties, which played its proper role in a specific period. With the development of the social economy and the accumulation of experiences in operation and management by the socialist countries, we should promptly reform and negate the systems not adjusted to the development of the productive forces, instead of becoming rigidified and falling into a mold.

Both tendencies discussed above violate the principle of gradual advance according to the proper order. In terms of the objective necessity of the development of the socialist society, we must proceed gradually according to the proper order in our self-negation. However, there are still a long distance from necessity to freedom and a process of understanding and practice. Mistakes in the process are always inevitable, while reducing the distance and avoiding mistakes hinge on understanding and mastering the objective laws in the course of negating the negation.

How do we negate according to the proper order and in a gradual process?

According to the positive and negative experiences in China, we must pay attention to the following points when introducing new reforms, new systems and new policies and negating and changing the old systems and old policies:

1. We must conduct tests at selected points and popularize according to the proper order. First, we must properly investigate and study and, by means of tests at selected points, clarify the conditions and formulate policies compatible with the objective reality to guide practice. Comrade Chen Yun [7115 0061] feels that, in our work, we must devote 90 percent or more of our time to investigation and study and less than 10 percent to policymaking, because correct policies all come from scientific analyses based on practical conditions. Before introducing major reforms, we must first conduct tests at selected points to gain experience. Such tests constitute an important scientific experiment and a good method of intensive investigation and study, making it possible to obtain firsthand material, acquire the experience of personal practice, clarify the conditions, issues and the entire course of development, help discover things of a regular pattern, further revise and supplement the original plans and policies, making them more compatible with the objective reality, and accurately negate what should be negated. After obtaining experiences at the selected points, we must not popularize them all at once, but must introduce them in a planned and step by step manner, from the selected points to the whole area, from a small number to a large number. Approximately one-third of the area per group is appropriate. Upon completion of each group, a systematic summary should be made, so that the following group is better than the previous one, its quality higher and its negation more perfect.

2. We must carefully handle the relations and expand according to the proper order. The relations among things are complex, multifaceted and interlocked. When negating, we must properly handle the relations of several aspects, such as the the high, medium and low (high-level, medium-level and low-level) of the degree of development, the large, medium and small of the scale of development, and the fast, medium and slow (fast speed, medium speed and slow speed) in the speed of development, as well as the relations among the state, the collective and the individual, etc. Among them, some should be negated, or partially negated; others, though not to be negated in themselves, are related. In the socialist period, the progress from the low-level stage to the medium-level stage, and thence to the high-level stage, though of the same nature, is also a kind of negation (or partial negation), which often involves relations in many aspects, the high and low of the degree, the large and small of the scale, and the fast and slow of the speed. The development and negation of things must proceed gradually according to the proper order, gradually progressing from the low level to the medium level, and thence to the high level, without skipping any stage which must be traversed and without making hasty and rash advances.

3. We must gradually negate according to the objective laws and combat wrong "leftwing" and rightwing tendencies. Comrade Mao Zedong once pointed out that "leftism" is an "acute disease" and rightism a "chronic disease." Both are severance from the masses and from reality, detrimental to our work. Negating either from the "left" or from the right is wrong and will create evil consequences for the revolutionary cause. In the "Great Cultural Revolution" especially, Lin Biao and the "gang of four," for the sake of usurping the party and seizing power, negated everything and knocked down everything, taking an

absolute negative attitude. As a result, the socialist culture was negated; the socialist economy was negated; many long tested proletarian revolutionaries were negated; the essence of the party and the nation was negated; the party's superior tradition was also negated. Instead of happiness, such negation brought calamity to the people. Only when compatible with the demands of the masses and carried out according to the objective laws is a negation correct, and only then will it promote the development of society, help the people's cause and benefit the state and the nation. What we need is this kind of negation.

In the negation of negation in the socialist period, there is also the issue of partial negation which requires conscientious study. Partial negation indicates that, before the negation of a thing in its entirety, many partial negations are carried out until the final basic negation. The development of anything undergoes a process and different stages, and each process and stage has its qualitative determinacy. Even though a thing (especially a large thing) has not been basically negated, some of its special characteristics, features and aspects are, in the course of development, negated, whereby its old stage is negated by the new stage, or the contradictions determined by the basic contradiction are negated or altered. Thus emerges a partial negation. Such partial negation also proceeds gradually according to the proper order. It has two forms: One is partial negation of one part after another, until the final basic negation; the other is partial negation of one stage after another until the final basic negation.

The negation of the socialist period is also "sublation," viz., overcoming while preserving, clearing away the dregs and assimilating the essence. It is the unity of revolution and inheritance. The negation of dialectics is not a simple declaration of "no longer needed," nor a casting aside in toto, but "a link of connection, a link of development." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 38, p 244). The degenerate, backward and negative elements in the old things must be firmly cleared away, and the positive elements carried on and critically reformed for their continued progress. A link in the forward development, negation implies a new affirmation. On the other hand, the negation of metaphysics is the absolute casting off of all, without any continuation, severing history and interrupting development, which is wrong.

There is inheritability in the negation of old things, but, according to the nature, conditions and characteristics of the contradictions, there are distinctions (the inheritability of antagonistic contradictions is distinguishable from that of nonantagonistic contradictions), and the negation cannot be handled in uniform. In social development, the inheritability in the negation of the different stages of things of the same nature is relatively greater, while the negation of things of different natures also has its inheritability (the revolutionary aspect being the principal and basic aspect). Socialism and capitalism are two social systems of basically different natures. After socialism has negated capitalism, the social productive forces, science and technology, experiences in operation and management, cultural heritages, etc. of capitalism and of history are not summarily dismissed, nor preserved intact, but carried on and reformed. After such negation, the reactionary things of

capitalism are eliminated (the reactionary state machine, the exploiting system and the decadent bourgeois ideological system) and its positive elements inherited. It is affirmation in negation. As the negation of an old stage by a new stage in the socialist period is a localized partial negation, it has an even greater inheritability which must not be overlooked. Besides paying serious attention to the innovative, reformative and revolutionary aspects in negation, we must also give full consideration to the inheritance of the positive elements, in order to continue the past to forge ahead and inherit the precedent to enlighten the future.

The development of the negation of negation in the socialist period is spiraling and wave-like. The spiraling development is a gradual process according to the proper order. The process from affirmation to negation, and thence to the negation of negation, is a cycle of the spiral motion, the entire course of the progress from the low level to the high level and the "tortuosity of the contradictory motions of things." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 361). "The return of seemingly old things" may appear in the high-level stage. ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 608). However, it is not "a return to the past," but the inheritance of the positive elements in the two previous negations on a new foundation and the manifestation of their higher development. The spiraling motion cycle of the materialist dialectic negation of negation is not the same as the vicious circle theory and also distinguishable from the straight line theory. Ascending and progressive yet also tortuous, it is the unity of progressiveness and tortuosity. In the forward motion of socialism, some regressions may appear, but they are only temporary phenomena and will finally be overcome. The surging tide of socialism is irresistible. All perverse acts resisting it will be smashed. In short, its future is bright, but its path tortuous. It is an objective law independent of man's will.

III. The newborn things of socialism are invincible.

The spiraling and wave-like process of negation of negation in the development of things is essentially the process of affirming the new things and negating the old things. It is the same in the socialist period. If the old things are not negated, the new things will not be able to develop and advance according to the proper order. It is a reflection of the law of metabolism in the development of things. According to the nature and conditions of things and by means of different forms of negation, the old things are replaced by new things. It is metabolism, the process of discarding the old to set up the new.

A new thing possesses an inherent necessity, represents the future and has a bright prospect. It may be relatively small and weak today, overlooked by people, but it holds in store an irresistible force and will finally break through all difficulties and dangers, negate the old thing, and become the dominant side of the contradiction. Meanwhile, the old thing, having lost its necessity and ever more declining, will inevitably be negated. It may appear to be very secure on the surface, but actually it is weak, and its negation is only a matter of time, for it cannot sustain itself forever. This, also, is independent of man's will.

There are objective criteria to distinguish the newborn and old things. We must not rely on subjective will, but must make concrete analyses for our distinction. The distinction of new and old things is based not entirely on their chronological order and the novelty of their forms, nor on the temporary comparison of strengths and the speed of development at the time. To determine whether a thing is new, theoretical analyses, and especially the test of practice, are required. Only when the objective necessity, a rich vitality and a broad future of development are proved through mass practice can a thing be considered new. It will withstand the tests of history and become publicly recognized by a growing number of the people in practice.

Socialism as a newborn thing is invincible, because it is compatible with the laws of social development and adjusted to the tide of human history. Summarizing the historical experiences of social development, Marx and Engels discovered the process of negation of negation, viz., from a classless society (the positive stage) to a class society (the negative stage), and thence to a higher classless communist society (the socialist society being its low-level stage). It is the irresistible universal law of the development of the human society. As a newborn thing, socialism first broke through the weak links of imperialism. Thereafter, it triumphed in China and other countries. Even though it made many detours and even regressed in certain countries, in terms of the long river of history, they were merely interludes. A socialist newborn thing will always open the way for itself, and its songs of triumph will resound on Earth.

Socialism as a newborn thing possesses a tremendous superiority. While continuing the positive elements of the capitalist society and reforming and developing them, it adds to them a new superiority unattainable by any capitalist country, such as eliminating the exploiting system of the capitalist production means private ownership, creating the socialist public ownership, introducing the principle of distribution according to labor, developing social production according to plans and proportions, making the laboring people the masters of the state enjoying a broad socialist democracy, implementing the socialist legal system, etc. The superiority of the socialist system guarantees that it will overcome the difficulties and setbacks on the path of progress and become an invincible force in the struggle to negate capitalism.

In the realm of society, socialism as a newborn thing represents the most progressive, revolutionary and hopeful class and force, compatible with the basic interests of the majority of the people and winning the sincere support of the broad masses; therefore, it is invincible in negating the capitalist system and promoting social development.

Though socialism as a newborn thing, in terms of the entire historical development of the human society, will finally negate capitalism, in terms of the concrete process of the socialist revolution and construction, it is impossible for the negation to be easily accomplished and smoothly carried out. Under certain special conditions, the growth of socialism as a newborn thing may encounter obstacles, or even temporary setbacks, and the road must be opened through struggle. The previously new things in the socialist society will, with the lapse of time and conditions, gradually become old, requiring self-

negation, so that newer things will replace and negate the obsolete things. Compared with the old society, the conditions for the growth of new things in the socialist society are much more favorable, but there still exist the contradictions between the new and the old, between the advanced and the backward, and between revolutionary innovation and conservation, and the phenomenon of suppressing the newborn strengths. The new things must struggle against the old things before they can develop, because "the growth of any newborn thing will undergo difficulties and detours. In the socialist cause, the idea that we will always have smooth sailing and succeed easily without difficulties and detours and without a great effort is a mere fantasy." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 379). As shown by the facts, the development of a socialist society is promoted through the negation of the old things by the new things.

The struggles between the new and old things in the socialist period include contradictions of two different natures. A large number of them and the major ones are nonantagonistic contradictions, and only a small number of them and individual ones are antagonistic contradictions. The two kinds must be strictly distinguished. The struggles between the new and the old (except individual cases) in a socialist society have no necessary links with the class struggle and are mainly the contradictions between the advanced and the backward within the people, which require the formula of "unity—criticism—unity" for their solution. One may say that launching criticisms and self-criticisms in a socialist society is the way to affirm the new things and negate the old things and the means to solve the contradictions between them.

In the socialist period, affirming the new things and negating the old things are organically linked. To build a modern great socialist country with a high degree of democracy and a high degree of material and spiritual civilization and to create the conditions for the gradual transition to communism, we must, on the one hand, enthusiastically and actively cherish, support and promote the growth and maturity of the socialist new things and, on the other, seek the truth from the facts and make timely negations of the old things which have lost their objective necessity, in order to facilitate the progress of the socialist cause.

The newborn things in a socialist society emerge in an endless stream. All new persons and new matters making vivid creations and contributions promoting the four modernizations and the prosperity and wealth of the socialist motherland and possessing a bright future are new things emerging in today's historical conditions. Such new things are always relatively small and weak at the beginning and lack perfection. We must discover them at their inception and comprehensively recognize their essence and main current. While refraining from ridiculing and taking an inhibitive attitude toward them, nor must we pull on the sprouts to help them grow. Like the "Bole" [an ancient expert on horses] of the worker class and the revolutionary gardener, we must maintain a keen sensitivity, cultivate them patiently, help them overcome their defects, eliminate the obstacles on their road of progress, and assist their healthy growth according to the laws of their development.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

YOU TAIZHONG CALLS FOR STEPPED-UP EFFORT IN ARMY BUILDING

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 81 p 1

[Article by Zhou Dako [6650 1129 0668] and Su Can [5685 3503]: "Chengdu Units Hold Meeting for Cadres in Departments and Units Directly Under its Command"]

[Text] At a meeting for cadres of departments and units directly under the PLA Chengdu Units held on the morning of 7 October, commander You Taizhong [1429 1132 1813] emphasized that our cadres, party members, and league members should bestir themselves, take the lead in working in a down-to-earth manner, and contribute more to speeding up the building of our army into a modern, regular revolutionary army.

At the meeting, leading comrade of the Chengdu Military Unit transmitted the important speeches made by leading cadres of the CCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Military Commission on army work. After that, comrade You Taizong pointed out the need to carry out the four suggestions made by leaders of the party Central Committee in their speeches and said that "Now that we have major political programs and general policies, the main concern now is to work in a down-to-earth manner. Each of our cadres, party members, and league members should pose this question to himself: 'What can I contribute at my post?' We should bring about a common practice, that is, comparing and finding out which comrade does a better job and which unit does a better job. If each of our comrades is able to do an outstanding job in fulfilling his tasks at his post, then our work will present a new look."

You Taizhong also said that, at present, the main thing to do is to continue to study the "Resolution," study the relevant documents of the party Central Committee and the speeches by leading comrades of the Central Committee, overcome the laxity and weakness of ideological leadership in light of realities, enhance the militancy and effectiveness of ideological work, solve various ideological problems, make the armed forces unify their thinking and further their unity on the basis of the four principles, have firm faith in the party lines and policies laid down since the Third Plenum, study new circumstances, solve new problems, and take stronger steps forward in army building.

Further, You Taizhong said that, if one wants to work in a down-to-earth manner, one must do solid work bit by bit. All things from army appearance and discipline to etiquette and courtesy to environmental hygiene and order at camp sites

must be grasped one by one and placed on a firm basis. Leadership at various levels must exercise control with daring and strictly enforce rules and regulations so as to establish a civilized order of work and order of life in organs and camp areas, and thus setting a good example for the units.

Zhong Hanhua [6988 3352 5478], political commissar of the Chengdu Units, also spoke at the meeting. He said: "Comrade You Taizhong's speech is of great importance and is made on behalf of the party committee of the Chengdu Units. I hope all units will conscientiously organize study and discussion of the speech, draw up measures for achieving success, and contribute efforts to the building of our army into a modern and regular army."

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

COMMUNE MILITIA BUILDING PROGRAM OUTLINED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 81 p 3

[Article: "Effectively Carry Out Militia Training in Accordance With New Conditions"]

[Text] To keep abreast of the new situation arising from the socialist modernization, the armed forces department of the Anyu Commune, Jiang County has greatly stepped up militia building in order to become better prepared for the war against aggression. Under the leadership and with the support of the commune party committee, the armed forces department has assembled 224 core members of the commune militia for 15 days of training and scored good results; 98.3 percent passed the test. Their main approaches and experiences are:

1. Understanding Must Be Unified

At the outset, members of the commune party committee got wrong ideas about militia training, such as that "engaging in production is a firm target and carrying out training a flexible target," and "it is advantageous to engage in production and disadvantageous to carry out training." It was only after members of the party committee were organized to study the guidelines of the Third Plenum and the Sixth Plenum on militia building and the documents from the higher level concerning militia training that comrades came to understand the importance of effectively carrying out militia training with regard to the position and role of the militia in achieving and safeguarding the four modernizations. At the same time, comrades were guided to analyze the favorable conditions for militia training: 1) Following the Third and Sixth Plenums, party policies have gone deeper into the people's minds and the broad masses of militiamen are inspired with enthusiasm for training. 2) With the production responsibility system put into effect in the countryside, they have heightened their enthusiasm for production, increased their labor efficiency, and gained more time for training. 3) After realigning the militia organization, the administrative structure has been simplified, reduced in size, and improved qualitatively, making it more favorable to the organizing of militia training. After making study and analysis, comrades raised their level of understanding and unified their thinking. They found it imperative to grasp militia training effectively.

2. Selection of Personnel Must be Carried Out

Based on the principle of choosing the best from among the good, to take part in militia training, backbone militiamen who are ideologically sound, not easily burdened, young, and educated were chosen. Practice has shown that the subjects thus chosen for training are physically strong, seldom take leave and miss training, have enthusiasm for training, and are more receptive to training. When time is running tight and the training contents are numerous, they can still achieve outstanding success in training.

3. Time Must be Ensured

They chose the intercession of summer and autumn when there was less farm work to do as the good time of training and made early arrangements for this year's training program. At the same time, to raise the time utilization rate, they adopted the method of grasing both ends and relaxing the middle—getting up early and retiring late. This approach resolved the contradiction between the time for work and the time for training. It ensured the time for training and gave the brigade's militiamen definite time to do some farm work. This gave play to the enthusiasm of militiamen for training and ensured the quality of training.

4. The Method Must be Correct

Training this year was characterized by numerous contents and shortness of time. Taking these characteristics into account, they adopted the methods of distinguishing the primary from the secondary tasks, bringing the focal point to the fore, setting strict standards and maintaining evaluations on training results. In this way, they achieved fairly good results. Shooting practice and tactics, for example, were taken as focal points of training on one occasion and given 8 days while the remaining three courses were given 6 days. At the same time, the results of each course were evaluated in strict accordance with evaluation criteria for judging militia training situations. The evaluations were taken as important means to consolidate and improve training results. Those who passed the evaluation were not required to take part in the annual general training; those who failed to pass it were required to undergo training and evaluation again during the next round of training. This greatly stimulated their enthusiasm for militia training.

5. Education Must be Conducted Effectively

During training, various types of ideological and political work were launched with consideration given to the militiamen's characteristics and actual ideological condition, which was aimed at ensuring satisfactory fulfillment of the training tasks. 1) Education was conducted with strong emphasis to address widespread problems. For example, against the idea that "one who becomes a militiaman gets the worst of it" which was found among the militiamen, education was conducted and discussion held to bring it home to all that it is the glorious duty of every citizen to join the militia organization and it is the sacred duty of every militiaman to defend the motherland. 2) Education was conducted in accordance with training characteristics. When hot weather was a drain on one's physical strength during training, the militiamen were organized

to study the heroic deeds performed during the self-defense counter-attack at the China-Vietnam border which enabled them to conscientiously promote the "two-fear-not" spirit during training and to achieve better results in training by dint of sweat from physical exertion. 3) Every bit of time was seized upon to conduct education in diverse ways. On the training ground, on-the-spot political agitation was conducted. During breaks and training intervals, singing and story-telling activities were held. In coordination with training, they selected fine films to conduct image education, thereby rousing enthusiasm for training and ensuring fulfillment of the training tasks according to schedule.

6. Policy Must be Carried Out

The question of pay to militiamen taking part in training was properly settled on the principle of equal pay for equal work and according to the attendance records. With a centralized kitchen set up by the brigade, the problems of daily life were settled for militiamen engaged in training. Furthermore, those who distinguished themselves in training were given appropriate awards. In this way, militiamen and militiawomen taking part in training could concentrate their efforts on effectively carrying out training.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI' BLAMES DENG, DEFENDS HUA ON ARMY BUILDING

OW171437 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 16 Nov 81

[Text] After Comrade Deng Xiaoping formally assumed the post of chairman of the military commission following the 6th plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, he began artificially exaggerating and attacking the so-called mistakes of Comrade Hua Guofeng in army building. The criticism is obviously aimed at further undermining Comrade Hua Guofeng's prestige in the army. For example, it is said that Comrade Hua Guofeng should mainly be held responsible for the failure to carry out the national defense modernization plans and the many problems faced by our army in weapons and equipment.

However, seeking truth from facts, we should recognize that the facts did not show that Comrade Hua Guofeng alone was responsible for the army's modernization, and that it is wrong to blame him alone. The central leading comrades, Comrade Deng Xiaoping in particular, should be held equally responsible.

As we all know, after Comrade Deng Xiaoping resumed his posts, especially after the 3d plenary session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, he began step by step to push Comrade Hua Guofeng aside and then seized complete control of the military commission. The basic policy of modernizing the army, for example, was put forward by Comrade Deng Xiaoping himself. It is also he who insisted that the army's modernization should rely on the West and that large amounts of money should be spent to buy weapons and military equipment from the Western countries.

However, practice in the past few years has proved that in paying such a high price for defense modernization, our country loses more than it gains. Because of this erroneous policy of Comrade Deng Xiaoping, not only have we wasted large amounts of foreign exchange, but our military expenditures have greatly exceeded the budget. This is the reason why so many problems have cropped up now in modernizing our national defense and in our military budget.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping on the one hand stresses the need to allocate much more funds to buy weapons from the West, develop costly nuclear rocket weapons and military technology, and so forth. On the other hand, he very unwisely ordered drastic budget cuts on conventional weapons and on spendings by military supply departments. At present, there are shortages of spare parts for conventional weapons, and vast numbers of commanders and fighters are still using weapons and technical equipment that are outdated and urgently need to be replaced.

At the same time, there are not enough funds and materials to carry out necessary repairs. Quite a number of air force units are still using outdated engines. Numerous warships and submarines are put out to sea on long voyages without first undergoing necessary overhauls. As a result, accidents occur frequently, sometimes endangering lives of commanders and fighters. As most of the serious accidents are kept under wraps and not made known to the whole army, other related units cannot draw lessons in good time in order to prevent similar misfortunes from occurring again.

No wonder quite a number of people have openly said that when Comrade Hua Guofeng was in charge of the work of the military commission, such things rarely occurred. In fact, this view is not without reason.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

MINISTRY OF CULTURE HOLDS THEATRICAL FESTIVAL IN BEIJING

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 81 p 1

[Article: "Modern Theatrical Festival Opens in Beijing"]

[Text] A modern theatrical festival sponsored by the Ministry of Culture opened at the auditorium of the Beijing National Cultural Palace on 7 October. This marks the first time that a nationwide theatrical festival has been held since the smashing of the "gang of four."

In his opening speech, Wu Xue [0702 7185], vice minister of the Ministry of Culture, pointed out: Implementation of the policy designed by the party to develop traditional, new historic and modern plays simultaneously has broadened the path of development of the performing arts. Performing artists must conscientiously introduce new themes to the theater by using the delightful theatrical forms loved by the masses to portray the reality of the four modernizations now underway. He said: Under the policy of "weeding through the old to bring forth the new," we are required not only to compile and reform the traditional and new historic plays from the standpoint of historical materialism but to use the medium of the performing arts to reflect the life of our times in creative modern theatrical styles. Commenting on the problem of how real life should be reflected by means of the performing arts, he emphasized: Our task is to retain the original artistic characteristics inherent in our operas of all kinds, on the one hand, and on the other hand to skillfully reflect what is taking place today and to shape new personalities. To this end, we are required to rewrite the traditional theatrical arts. Only in this way can we achieve a relatively perfect harmony between the essence and the form of the performing arts."

This festival will present to the public the following theatrical programs: The Beijing opera "Girls in the East Neighborhood," presented by the Fujian Provincial Beijing Opera Troupe; Sichuan opera "Lady No 4," by the Sichuan Opera Troupe of Zigong Municipality, Sichuan Province; Shaanxi opera "White Dragon Mouth," by the Xian New Folklore Institute of Shaanxi Province; Han opera "Cai Jiu Pays Back a Duck," by the Hanchuan County Han Opera Troupe, Hubei Province; flower lamp play "A Typical Family," by the Guizhou Provincial Flower Lamp Theatrical Troupe; tea harvesting play "Chattering Magpies Take Over a Plum Tree," by the Yichuan Prefectural Theatrical Troupe of Jiangxi Province; Beijing opera "Constant Moral Fortitude," by the Shengli Troupe of the Wuhan Military Region; Pingju play "A Thief Who Breaks Into the Home of a People's Policeman," by the Harbin Municipal

Pingju Troupe of Heilongjiang Province; Huai opera "Broken Bowls," by the Jiangsu Provincial Huai Opera Troupe; and Huai opera "An Invaluable Promise," by the Fuming Huai Opera Troupe of Jiangsu Province. A total of 10 theatrical programs, both long and short, in the eight categories of opera will be presented to the public.

These are outstanding theatrical programs selected from a large number of modern plays created by various local opera troupes since the smashing of the "gang of four." Among them are plays eulogizing the noble virtues and splendid achievements of the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation, plays reflecting the changes in the minds of the people that took place during the 10-year civil strife and [reflecting] their faith in our party and socialist motherland, and plays depicting the booming economic picture in urban and rural China since the Third Plenum. In these artistic forms one can find our original national characteristics and delightful local tastes. They represent new probes and new styles in the direction of dramatizing modern life. The opening ceremony was witnessed by Zhou Yang [0719 2254], Ho Jingzhi [6320 2417 0037], Zhou Weizhi [0719 1550 1492], and other leading comrades of literary and artistic circles. Also present at the ceremony were more than 700 persons, in addition to the artists from the participating units. Among them were representatives of various provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions and of literary and artistic circles in Beijing.

This theatrical festival, which opened on 7 October, will come to a close on 21 October. During this period the Chinese Modern Theatrical Research Institute will hold its annual meeting for 1981, at which 26 essays will be read and problems concerning the development of modern plays will be discussed.

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CSO: 4005/180

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY LEADERS IN INNER MONGOLIA MARK LU XUN'S BIRTHDAY

Hohhot NEIMENGGU RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 81 p 2

[Article: "Cultural and Literary Workers of Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region Hold Forum To Commemorate 100th Anniversary of Lu Xun's Birth"]

[Text] The date of 25 September 1981 marked the 100th birthday anniversary of the great man of letters, thinker, and revolutionary writer Lu Xun. On the afternoon of 25 September, the Autonomous Regional Committee To Commemorate Lu Xun's 100th Birthday Anniversary invited a number of writers, artists, scholars, and translators in Hohhot to a forum in commemoration of Lu Xun. Participants in the forum pledged to learn from Lu Xun, inherit and carry forward his militant revolutionary spirit, and strive to make contributions to the development of socialist literature and art in the region.

Chao Luomeng [3390 3157 3443], director of the propaganda department of the Inner Mongolia Party Committee and vice chairman of the committee to commemorate Lu Xun's 100th birthday anniversary, presided and Wang Feng [3769 6912], permanent secretary of the Inner Mongolia Party Committee and chairman of the commemorative committee, spoke at the forum. Wang Feng hoped that literary and artistic workers of all nationalities throughout the region will devote themselves successfully to studying Lu Xun's works and his thought and learning from his indomitable revolutionary spirit, and that they will persist in the correct direction of literature and art, will direct literature and art to serve the people and socialism, and will strive to fulfill the revolutionary mission in this new period of history.

Other speakers at the forum were Han Yanru [7281 3601 1172], Ge-Er-Luo-Chao-Ke-Tu [5514 1422 2867 2600 0344 0956], Xue Yan [5641 3543], Zhao-Ri-Ge-Ba-Tu [3564 2480 2706 1572 0956], Gu Zi [6253 1311], Liu Cheng [0491 2052], and Ding Zhengbin [0002 2973 1755]. Ba-Bu-Lin-Bei-Hao [1572 1580 2651 6296 6787] came up with a poem in commemoration of this occasion. Old writer Yin Geng [1438 1649], a member of the "Leftwing Writers Federation" of the 1930's and an associate of Lu Xun, also spoke at the forum. Comrades who spoke at the forum unanimously pledged to learn from Lu Xun, whose spirit of loving the motherland and people and whose determination to keep in constant touch with the heartbeat of the revolution are worthy of emulation. They also vowed to uphold the leadership of the party, to adhere to the socialist road, to prevent and overcome laissez-faire tendencies, and to gear literary and artistic work to better serving the four modernizations.

Also present at the forum were Zhuang Kun [8369 0981], Hao Fan [3185 1581], and Ge Wa [2047 3907], vice chairmen of the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Regional Committee in Commemoration of Lu Xun's 100th Birthday Anniversary. A total of over 100 persons attended the forum. Among them were responsible comrades of the cultural association, writers federation, cultural, radiobroadcast and publication bureaus of the autonomous region, Neimenggu University and Neimenggu Normal College, and other units, as well as literary and artistic workers of all nationalities.

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ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT OF VULGAR SOCIOLOGY REVIEWED

Lanzhou GANSU SHIDA XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF THE GANSU TEACHERS' UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese
No 3, 25 Sep 81 pp 98-106

[Article by Chen Ziren [7115 5261 0088]: "Vulgar Sociology and Its Influence when Xiao Yemu's [5618 0048 3668] Creative Trend Was Criticized"]

[Text] Negating the characteristics and laws of literature and summarily and mechanically observing, studying and explaining its complex phenomena by means of the viewpoints of vulgar materialism and the general principles of sociology constitute vulgar sociology. Such seemingly Marxist spurious science was an effective weapon of the ultra-leftwing literary line in China's modern literary criticisms and literary movements. Even today, it still has its market. Therefore, if we do not expose its harmfulness and purge its pernicious influence in theory, our writers and their works may encounter at any time the danger of "being killed by a club."

I. During the nationwide criticism campaign against "Biography of Wuxun" in 1951, the so-called "petit bourgeois creative tendency" of Xiao Yemu, the film "Company Commander Guan" and Biye's [4310 6851] novel "Our Strengths Are Invincible" were also included. Though the criticism campaign of the largest scale was aimed at "Biography of Wuxun" and that against Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was secondary, in terms of the spread of vulgar sociology, the former was far behind the latter in gravity. On a series of basic issues of literature, the criticisms of Xiao Yemu's creative tendency contained an entire set of vulgar sociological viewpoints. The major ones are selected and discussed below.

When determining the nature of Xiao Yemu's creative tendency, the methods used by the critics belonged in the realm of vulgar sociology. For instance, they equated the social life in the early days after the founding of the nation with the concepts of "light" and "new," the workers, peasants and revolutionary cadres with the concept of "good," and the intellectuals of petit bourgeois background with the concept of "bad." Thereafter, from Xiao Yemu's works, they abstracted the details and words in his descriptions of the inadequacies

of life in the early days after the founding of the nation, the shortcomings of the workers, peasants and revolutionary cadres and the good points of the petit bourgeois intellectuals and checked them against such concepts. Thereupon, they reached the conclusion that the writer "slandered our new noble people and the new life;" that he "observed and expressed life with the petit bourgeois viewpoint and interest;" that his works "smeared the worker class" and "seriously manifested his scorn for and distortion of the industrious and brave Chinese peasants and his partiality for and exaggeration of the petit bourgeois intellectuals." Therefore, his was "the creative tendency of the petit bourgeoisie."* We will not, for the moment, discuss the tendency actually revealed in Xiao Yemu's works. However, we cannot but regard as vulgar sociology such method of qualitative determination which failed to make any concrete scientific analysis of concrete works, but which, taking the words out of context, fiddled with the abstract concept of sociology and made the determination by deductive reasoning.

When explaining life authenticity, it was completely equated with light. Xiao Yemu's novel "Between Us Husband and Wife" was about party member Li Ke of petit bourgeois intellectual background who had been tempered in the liberated area for many years, but who, after entering the city, still retained many unpardonable shortcomings. Thereupon, the critics asked: "Is it conceivable that a Communist Party member in life can be so grey?" The same novel also depicted woman cadre Zhang of worker-peasant background who had a firm standpoint and adhered to principles, but whose work method was summary and whose attitude toward others brutal, and who failed to adjust to urban life. The critics found that the depiction was "incompatible with life authenticity." "Tempering" described a peasant activist who became helpless before the enemy's powerful assault. This again led the critics to ask: Are China's real life peasants actually thus? "Love" was about guerrilla company instructor Li Ji who, hearing of the murder of his beloved fiancée by the enemy, immediately became extremely depressed. Thereupon, the critics inquired whether "a young man serving as a political instructor" could be "so fragile and weak." Generally speaking, it is completely incompatible with the truth." According to the critics, life authenticity was light, and real life Communist Party members, workers and peasants were all advanced, superior, staunch and flawless; otherwise, it would be "incompatible with life authenticity." On the surface, they were defending the new life of the new China, but actually they were dodging and concealing contradictions, and they lacked the correct and truly thorough materialist attitude of looking squarely at reality; therefore, they were unable to correctly understand the intertwining and complex contradictions in real life and their development, thereby inevitably leading to distorting the new life. Obviously, such so-called "life authenticity" did not come from life itself, but from subjective desire, from a certain kind of abstract definition; therefore, it was the viewpoint of pure and simple vulgar sociology.

* As most comrades have long abandoned the vulgar sociological viewpoints, the sources of their citations are omitted.

Likewise, artistic truth was equated with writing about light and the positive side. Some critics suggested: "In the worker class ranks, there may possibly be some few ideologically backward individuals. However, when we write, is it conceivable for us to ridicule the worker class and describe its backward members? Obviously, we should write about its noble qualities of a universal nature and its life devoted to labor. /Only such works can be considered as truthfully reflecting reality/ and guide the people to forge ahead." Though acknowledging the existence of "ideologically backward individuals" in the worker ranks, the critics forgot a rudimentary knowledge: Literary works are the products of social life as reflected in the minds of the writers. How, then, can there be only the "noble" side and no other side? If there is only the "noble" side, will not literary works become "the products of the noble side of social life as reflected in the minds of the writers?" Naturally, reflecting reality absolutely does not mean mechanically describing life; it requires concentrating and epitomizing and typifying. Typifying does not depend on the writer's subjective desires and his needs, but asks the writer to remain faithful to life and accurately grasp the contradictions and their developments in real life. Whether reflecting only the "noble" side of life or only the "insignificant" side, neither can be considered as "truthfully reflecting reality," but only whitewashing reality or distorting it.

On the issue of the artistic model, the critics wanted it to be the type and the majority in sociology and as the general embodiment of all the people in the class, stratum, group and occupation, and they advocated one model per class. Some critics arbitrarily maintained that Li Ke in "Between Us Husband and Wife" "emerged as an embodiment of the intellectual cadre" and Comrade Zhang "as an embodiment of the worker-peasant cadre," while both characters represented also the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, when the writer wrote about the trivialities in their lives, it was equivalent to "basically distorting the general policies of the Communist Party upon entering the cities, vulgarizing the party, the party cadres and the takeover work; it was even like a satire, transforming the great political struggles of the Communist Party upon entering the cities into conjugal squabbles." Meanwhile, Daddy Danan and Mother Xiaohua, the two secondary characters in "Along the River Hai," also became the embodiments of "official industrial workers." When the writer described their backward and conservative side, the critics exclaimed in horror: "Workers of proletarian descent are actually so lacking in class consciousness and class awareness under the writer's pen!" According to their view, if one described a worker, he must be endowed with all the superiorities of the worker class and serve as its general embodiment; if one described a petit bourgeois intellectual, he must be equipped with all the shortcomings of his class and serve as its general embodiment. True, an artistic model must epitomize the contents of a specific historical period and real life and express the essential common features of a specific class, stratum or category of people. However, artistic epitomizing of history and real life does not mean that the artistic model must serve as the embodiment of anyone, because such epitomizing does not come from deductive induction or mechanical diagramming, but from expressing the clear individuality of the character portrayal. If a class can have only one model, then, it will be impossible for such model to be an artistic model, but only a diagram of the concept of the class without any individual features.

On the issue of human feelings, human nature and class nature, the critics negated the description of human feelings and human nature. One cannot, for instance, find fault with the sincere and pure love between young workers Danan and Xiaohua and their emotional tangles in "Along the River Hai." However, the critics declared: In the writer's depiction of "'the new life' of the worker class, the workers basically failed to understand the meaning of life, but lived ignorantly in the circle of love all day long. It was an unpardonable mistake." They felt that the love between Danan and Xiaohua "contained many intellectual interests and imageries" and "had a considerably strong petit bourgeois flavor." Some even flatly asserted that Danan was someone who believed in the "petit bourgeois 'supremacy of love,' and regarded his love as life." It seemed that only the petit bourgeoisie had love and valued it. In regard to the scene in "Tempering" where Ding Dafu wept bitterly over his mother's murder by the enemy, the critics declared that it was a "distortion" of peasant activist Ding Dafu. They felt that a peasant activist had no business to weep over the murder of his mother, for otherwise he would not be an activist, but a "mediocrity." As for the way the writer wrote, it was "fabricating the so-called interests and tricks of the laboring people." The issue is very clear. In the minds of the critics, an individual was only equipped with class attributes, and between individuals, mother and child, husband and wife, friends, and comrades, there were only political links. Once the laboring people, particularly the worker class, were endowed with human feelings, human nature and love, they were no longer laboring people and the worker class. The critics forgot that literature is the study of man and that it must stir people with emotion. To write about man in literature, one cannot describe his class attributes according to the ready-made conclusions of the abstract and generalized social science, while dodging the emotional world of the rich and complex man. Even though man's emotional world is inevitably conditioned by his social attributes, it absolutely does not mean that he, in his changing emotions, must constantly reflect the ideology and demands of a specific class or group. Attributing laughter and tears, joy and sorrow, and the love between man and woman, mother and child, husband and wife, or comrades to either the bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie or the proletariat is not upholding the Marxist class theory; on the contrary, it is vulgarizing the class theory and constitutes the typical viewpoint of vulgar sociology.

On the issue of the subject matter, the critics advocated the "subject matter determination" theory and the theory of "writing only about heroic model figures." Some of them felt that Xiao Yemu was "trying to discover 'treasures' in the small corners of the great era." They concluded that, "when a writer concentrated his feelings and emotions and his attention on collecting subject matters of ordinary trivialities in such 'small corners of the great era,' he would /inevitably fill his works with vulgar and cheap low-class interest./" Some wanted to know "why Xiao Yemu did not portray the worker-peasant cadres who could master the policies and manage the cities and possessed a Bolshevik enthusiasm, a sober mind and culture?" Others demanded of Xiao Yemu: "If you truly love this kind of people (women cadres of worker-peasant background--author's note), you should write about people like Li Fenglian, Li Xiuzhen, Rong Guanxiu and Liu Hulan, and /you will be writing about the truly lovable people./" Obviously, according to them, the subject matter was the only

criterion to determine the value of a work, and the heroic model figures the only subject matter, because only when writing about them would the "truly lovable people" be depicted. Such vulgar sociological viewpoints on the issue of the subject matter severed "what to write" and "how to write" and placed them on opposite sides, absolutized the significance of the subject matter in creative work, negated the value of the writer's subjective initiative and creative artistic labor, and denied the variety of the subject matter.

The foregoing were merely the major vulgar sociological viewpoints when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized. Thus, we can more or less recognize the rampant situation of vulgar sociology at that time and understand the merits and mistakes, right and wrong, of the criticisms. Even though the starting point of the criticisms, as a whole, was correct, the critical process was not guided by the Marxist literary theory, but by vulgar sociology. Even on a series of basic issues of literature, the critics manifested the vulgar sociological viewpoints. One may say that they systematized vulgar sociology. Due to the fact that, in China's modern literary movements, vulgar sociology was always closely linked with the ultra-leftwing literary line, it served as a handy weapon to the latter. Meanwhile, the criticisms made by some comrades, due to their special statuses and positions, produced the objective effect of administrative orders. Therefore, the criticisms of Xiao Yemu's creative tendency may be regarded as a leftwing deviation in the literary movement in the early days after the founding of the nation.

II. It is naturally necessary to point out the rampancy of vulgar sociology in 1951 when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized, but what is even more important is that such rampancy produced an extremely detrimental influence on future literary criticisms and literary movements.

Though encountering resistance time and again after criticizing Xiao Yemu's creative tendency and the film "Biography of Wuxun," vulgar sociology was never eradicated. Especially with the ever more frequent multifarious political movements in the field of literature, its market continually expanded, reaching the peak in the 10-year calamity. Here, to explain the issue, it is necessary to draw a general outline of the rampage of vulgar sociology. By means of this outline, we will discover the pattern of its rampages and the influence produced by it after its systematization with the criticisms of Xiao Yemu's creative tendency.

After criticizing Xiao Yemu's creative tendency, the rampage of vulgar sociology, relatively speaking, reached three high tides, occurring in three different historical periods.

The period from 1952 to 1955 may be considered the first high tide. Compared with the two subsequent ones, vulgar sociology, in the high tide this time, spread under the condition of continuous resistance. The reason was that, in this period, the literary circle under party leadership launched the struggle between the two lines, ceaselessly rectifying the rightwing mistakes on the one hand while constantly battling the "leftwing" tendency on the other. However, as a tool to promote "leftwing" things, vulgar sociology continued to

develop and manifested itself fairly seriously in the several major discussions of literary issues and criticisms of literary thinking enumerated below.

1. "Discussion on Portraying Heroic Figures." The discussion was mainly aimed at the formulistic tendency of "portraying the transformation from backwardness" in creative writing. As a whole, some achievements were made. However, the following were proposed in the discussion: "Why can't we select a flawless hero to portray?" "Obviously, many heroic figures with no flaw or very few flaws have emerged in the real struggles. Why can't literary workers portray them?" This viewpoint was in substance the vulgar sociological view of portraying light and the positive side only which was proposed when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized. As it was affirmed by many people at the time, it was demanded, in the report at the Second Literary Delegates Meeting in 1953, that "the minor defects of many heroes may be completely, or should be, overlooked in literary works." After the old formula of "portraying the transformation from backwardness" was criticized, the new formula of "no defects when portraying heroes" emerged. The influence of this anti-realist formula on literary creation must not be underestimated.

2. Criticism of Idealism in the Study of "Dream of the Red Chambers." The criticism movement this time centering around the idealism and anti-realism in the study of "Dream of the Red Chambers" produced a positive effect in defending the realist principles in literature, but also spread many vulgar sociological things. In its later stage, especially, the movement developed from academic criticism to political criticism, and vulgar sociology became even more widespread. Some people, for instance, vigorously criticized Hu Shi's [5170 6684] "reactionaryism in academic thinking." The topic of "reactionaryism in academic thinking" was itself vulgar sociology. Others, for instance, analyzed the character portrayals in "Dream of the Red Chambers" by the "class analysis method," seeking the class attributes and class components for the characters in the novel, thereby creating the dispute over "the class components of Liu Laolao."

3. Criticism of Hu Feng's [5170 7364] "Counterrevolutionary Clique." In this mammoth criticism movement, besides criticizing the issue of literary thinking as a political one, the practice itself was vulgar sociology. While pointing out the vulgar sociological things in Hu Feng's literary thinking on the one hand, some people, on the other, used vulgar sociology as the weapon to criticize the literary thinking and works of Hu Feng and others. When criticizing Ji Pang's [0370 3055/2455] novel "There Is No Winter Here," for instance, such vulgar sociological viewpoints as equating life authenticity with light, advocating one model per class, and equating the peasants with good and the intellectuals with bad were completely revealed.

In February 1956, WENYI BAO, No 3, reprinted the special column "on the Issue of the Typical Model in Literature" in the Soviet COMMUNIST. It caused repercussions in our literary circle, and people began to become conscious of the harmfulness of vulgar sociology in the realm of China's literature. Thereupon, the second board of directors meeting (enlarged) of the China Writers' Association "emphatically proposed the need to overcome... the vulgar sociological

tendency in literary theory, criticism and study."* Some literary critics appealed that "now is the time to bring the criticism of vulgar sociology to the daily agenda."** Thus, in April, with the launching of the "Discussion of the Issue of the Typical Model," vulgar sociology encountered widespread resistance, and the first high tide of its rampage in the history of China's modern literary criticism came to an end.

The period from the second half of 1956 to the first half of 1957, known as the first ideological emancipation in the literary circle after the founding of the nation, was also the time when vulgar sociology had the least market and was most subdued. In this period, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed the policy of "one hundred flowers blooming; one hundred schools of thought contending," and literary thinking was never so lively. WENYI BAO successively published Chen Yong's [7115 3196] "Issues on Literary Characteristics," Yu Qing's [0060 2532] "Wrong Path of Literary Criticism," Cai Tian's [5591 3944] "Realism or Formalism?," Tang Zhi's [0781 2304] "Can Tedious Formulas Guide Creative Writing?," which were all special articles criticizing vulgar sociology. Though containing various flaws and inadequacies, these articles were relatively profound in analyzing and criticizing the vulgar sociological manifestations in the literary criticisms of that period, and were the most forceful in the criticisms of vulgar sociology since the founding of the nation. Unfortunately, the "anti-rightwing" movement began not long thereafter. The "double hundred" policy was put aside, these articles all turned overnight into "poison weeds," some writers were branded as "rightists," and the struggle against vulgar sociology barely begun was aborted. Immediately following it was the second high tide of the rampage of vulgar sociology.

The period from the second half of 1957 to early 1959 saw the second high tide of vulgar sociology after criticizing Xiao Yemu's creative tendency. In this period, with such ultra-leftwing errors in politics as simplifying and vulgarizing the class struggle in theory and magnifying the class struggle in practice, the leftwing deviation in literature grew ever more serious. Under the direct influence of such leftwing thinking, the political movements in the literary realm continuously escalated, thereby providing ample market for vulgar sociology. The vulgar sociological viewpoints which had been criticized all staged a comeback and made pernicious developments in the several major political movements and literary criticisms discussed below:

1. The "Anti-Rightwing" Struggle in the Literary Circle. The "anti-rightwing" struggle in the literary circle was touched off by the "anti-rightwing" struggle in politics. In the struggle, grave deviations emerged in literary theories, and vulgar sociology was taken as the Marxist literary theory, while the viewpoints expounding the characteristics and laws of literature, and even the

* "Editor's Note," WENYI BAO, August 1956

** Lin Mohan [2651 7817 3211], "Preliminary Understanding of the Issue of the Typical Model," op.cit.

basic principles of the Marxist literary theory, were condemned as "anti-party and anti-socialist" and "revisionist" and criticized brutally. Such views as equating life authenticity with light, and artistic truth with depicting light and the positive, for instances, were typical vulgar sociology, yet the critics defended them as the Marxist literary theory. On the other hand, the theories on "depicting truth" advocated by Comrades Chen Yong, Qin Zhaoyang [4440 0340 7122] and others were declared "revisionist." What must be specially pointed out was that the critics, in accordance with the vulgar sociological viewpoints discussed above, considered Liu Binyan's [0491 6333 7159] "Inside Information of This Newspaper" and "at the Bridge Construction Site" and Wang Meng's [3769 5536] "the New Young Man in the Organization Department," which were truthful to a high degree, as untruthful "anti-party and anti-people poison weeds" "distorting real life," and branded the authors as "rightists," thereby creating a large number of unjust, false and wrong cases in the literary circle.

2. The Mass Literary Movement during the "Great Leap Forward." In 1958, with the rise of new folk songs, a mass literary creative movement was launched. Certain achievements were made in the movement, but grave errors also emerged. In terms of the harms of vulgar sociology, first, the slogans directing the movement were vulgar sociological, such as "everyone sings; everyone dances; everyone writes poetry; everyone paints," "everyone is a poet," "a Guo Moruo [6753 3106 5387] in every county," "portray the center; paint the center; sing about the center," "great leap forward in literature," "spectacular achievements in literature," etc. Among the slogans, some of them confused the dividing line between artistic production and material production, asking the masses to pursue artistic production with the method of fighting a great battle in material production (not workable in material production either); some simplified and vulgarized the relations between literature and politics, interpreting the principle of literature serving politics as serving the current central task; others fostered "boasting" in literary creation, thus destroying the laws of artistic production and resulting in an inundation of literary trash. Next, the vulgar sociological viewpoint of equating artistic truth with depicting light and portraying the positive almost became the only goal of creative effort. At that time, "blind directing," "boasting" and "communist wind" in economic work reached an alarming degree, yet, not only failing to expose and criticize them, literary works, on the contrary, heartily endorsed and extolled them, and page after page of critical articles crowned them with the laurel of "truthfulness." Obviously, when vulgar sociology is used to direct creative work, black and white will inevitably be turned upside down.

3. The Recriticism of Ding Ling [0002 3781] and Others. Simultaneous with the literary "great leap forward" in 1958, the literary circle began a "recriticism" of Ding Ling, Ai Qing [5337 7230], Xiao Jun [5618 6511] and Luo Feng [5012 3536]. The methods and viewpoints used at that time were all vulgar sociological. When criticizing Ding Ling, for instance, the critics compared her works against the abstract concepts, viz., life authenticity equated with light, the communists and revolutionary cadres with good, and the intellectuals with bad. Thereupon, they reached a conclusion: Ding Ling took the "anti-party and anti-people standpoint," "portrayed Yanan as a ruthless, ghastly and terrifying place," and "smeared our party members, revolutionary work personnel,

and even ordinary peasants and women." What was even more ludicrous was that they equated her with the heroines in her works and proposed that, "if the women in her works are arranged according to the chronological order of their births, then, it is precisely Ding Ling's true autobiography." Vulgarizing literary criticism to such an extent is indeed unsurpassable.

From 1959 to 1962 was when vulgar sociology encountered resistance for the second time. In this period, though the criticisms of Hai Mo's [3189 7817] "Playing the Flute" and Zhang Geng's [1728 1649] article on the issue of exploring the "people quality" in our drama heritage and the discussions on "Daji and Her Father" still contained many vulgar sociological viewpoints, vulgar sociology, as a whole, was somewhat subdued and not as rampant as before. The emergence of this situation was primarily because leading comrades Zhou Enlai, Chen Yi and others led the resistance against vulgar sociology and the party undertook to readjust the literary policy. From March 1959 to February 1962, Comrade Zhou Enlai gave many talks and reports on the issues in the literary circle and sharply criticized vulgar sociology. His criticisms of such viewpoints as portraying only "light" and the "positive side," and only the class nature, not human feelings and human nature, were particularly profound. In his report at the "Guangzhou Meeting," Comrade Chen Yi expressed important opinions on guarding against the brutal practice in literary criticism and resisting the spread of vulgar sociology. Meanwhile, under Comrade Zhou Enlai's personal leadership, important documents such as the "Eight Articles on Literature," centering on rectifying and preventing "leftwing" mistakes, were formulated. Next, important meetings such as the forum on short story writing with the rural village as the subject matter called by the China Writers' Association in Dalian also produced an extremely positive effect on resisting vulgar sociology.

However, in 1963, those like Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng stretched their criminal hands into the literary circle, thereby causing another rampage of the already subdued vulgar sociology and the rise of its third high tide.

The rampage of vulgar sociology this time was started in 1963 when Jiang Qing organized people to encircle and exterminate the Kunqu opera "Li Huiniang" and launch a mass criticism of the "ghost drama" in the drama circle throughout the country. Immediately thereafter, Kang Sheng slandered "Violent Waves on River Hong" as an "anti-party" film, and some people in the Shanghai municipal party committee vigorously advocated "depicting the 13 years" and branded the stage play "Here Is Also a Battlefield" a "poison weed." By 1964, the literary circle again launched a "literary rectification" movement. Lin Biao poked his nose into literature and advocated "three-in-one combination," "three-mastery" and "four sides" in creative work. Thereafter, criticisms were launched on "the theory of intermediate figures," "the theory of the intensification of realism," "the theory on the convergence of the spirit of the times" and such works as "the Lin Family Store," "the City without Night," "Red Sun," "Revolutionary Household," and "City under Siege." Immediately, vulgar sociology caused a clamor and engulfed the literary world. In 1966, Lin Biao and Jiang Qing jointly concocted the so-called "Summary of the Literary Work Forum of the Troops," assembled the vulgar sociological viewpoints since the criticism

of Xiao Yemu's creative tendency and developed them to the peak. Until the downfall of the "gang of four," this "Summary" epitomizing vulgar sociology served, in fact, as the code of literary criticism.

After the downfall of the "gang of four," with the cessation of political movements, the implementation of the "double hundred" policy and the unprecedented lively academic thinking, vulgar sociology again encountered a general resistance. Thus ended its third high tide. But even today, it has not vanished entirely. When criticizing and discussing certain works and literary issues, some individual comrades hoist the legitimate banner of what to "uphold" and what to "defend," but do their utmost to peddle the vulgar sociological viewpoints. When discussing a certain work, for instance, one comrade arbitrarily claimed that "this one" in the work was a general embodiment of all those engaged in his occupation and found the work "untruthful" for this reason. When the author castigated him, he claimed that it was "pointing the spearhead" at all the people in his occupation. Is this not precisely the vulgar sociological viewpoint of one typical model per class and equating artistic truth with portraying light and the positive at the time when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized?

Though the social backgrounds and direct causes of the three high tides of vulgar sociology appearing in the realm of China's literature and the degree of rampage were different, they were all indivisibly linked with the spread of vulgar sociology at the time when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized. First, in each of the high tides, regardless of how rampant the manifestations, the main viewpoint never went beyond the several aspects manifested by vulgar sociology at that time. It indicates that its rampage at that time indeed produced a vile influence on its subsequent ones. Next, in the method of solving issues of literary thinking in the early days after the founding of the nation, a mass movement, instead of intensive and meticulous ideological education and academic discussion, was used to handle Xiao Yemu's creative tendency and the film "Biography of Wuxun," and dissenting opinions were not permitted. This practice itself was vulgar sociology. In the subsequent rampages of vulgar sociology, it was followed without exception in regard to literary thinking and literary works. Obviously, by criticizing Xiao Yemu's creative tendency and the film "Biography of Wuxun," some of our comrades began to become accustomed to it. It also explains that continuing to follow the same practice afterward was due, to a certain extent, to the influence of the criticism campaign this time in the early days after the founding of the nation.

III. Why did vulgar sociology, in the early days after the founding of the nation, become so rampant at the time when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized? Since the vulgar sociological viewpoints, to start with, could not withstand analysis and would collapse at the first blow, why, after encountering resistance time and again, did they continue to flourish and spread, instead of vanishing, and are considered by some people even today as wonder drugs for literary issues? The reasons are extremely complex. A brief exploration in the aspects of history, class and politics is attempted below.

1. The Historical Aspect

The history of vulgar sociology in our country can be traced to the late twenties. The vulgar sociological viewpoints at that time were mainly "imported" from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is the first socialist state in the world. Its literature exercised a tremendous influence on China's new literature since the "4 May" movement. In terms of practice, such influence and its dominant aspect were positive, but it also had its negative aspect. With the emergence of such factions and schools as the "proletarian cultural faction," the "(Lapu) faction" and futurism in the Soviet literary circle in the twenties and thirties, vulgar sociology was widespread for a time. These factions and schools recognized only the commonality of typical models, on ground that typification was the essential epitome of phenomena, not their individuality, proposed the "dialectic materialist creative method" while negating the realist creative method, stressed the political nature of literature while rejecting its truthfulness, denied all cultural heritages, and advocated the creation of a "pure" proletarian culture. The time when such vulgar sociological viewpoints were popular in the Soviet Union was precisely when China's revolutionary literary workers began to systematically translate and introduce the Marxist literary theories. Due to their limited Marxist theoretical level and various other factors, China's literary workers, when translating and introducing the Marxist literary theories, included also the vulgar sociological viewpoints. In addition, the academic thinking of some of the leftwing writers, returned students from Japan, was influenced to different degrees by the dogmatist theories of Japan's Fukumoto Kazuo and others. Thereupon, in early 1928 in the controversy on "revolutionary literature" within the camp of China's new literature, the vulgar sociological viewpoints began to win popularity, and the most representative among them were such viewpoints as "all literature is propaganda," "literature must portray a happy revolution and perfect revolutionaries," literature "shoulders the mission of organizing life," etc.

With the continuous intensification of the revolutionary literary movement and the general pressure on the literary workers to introduce and study the Marxist literary theories under extremely urgent conditions, the emergence of the phenomenon of a hungry man not being choosy about his food, mistaking vulgar sociology as the Marxist literary theory and introducing and accepting it, is understandable. The problem was that, at the time and thereafter, the literary circle failed to properly resist and criticize such vulgar sociological viewpoints. At the time, only Lu Xun, Mao Dun [5403 4163] and a few others recognized the harmfulness and made criticisms, but the majority of the leftwing writers, not only failing to understand, rose up and violently opposed the correct views of Lu Xun and others. Subsequently, the "Leftwing Writers' Association" was disbanded and some of the literary workers were transferred to the liberated areas. In the literary circle of the liberated areas, vulgar sociology again made its manifestations. In Yanan's literary rectification in 1942, vulgar sociology remained unscathed. Thus, from the fall of 1948 to the spring of 1949 when Xiao Jun's thinking was criticized, vulgar sociology rampaged. At that time, the main viewpoints in the criticisms of Xiao Jun's

essays and novels and his articles such as "Impolite Not to Reciprocate," "Dregs of the Soviet People" and "Two Scenes along the River" published in WENHUA BAO were almost entirely vulgar sociological.

In the early days after the founding of the nation, the resolutions on literature passed by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party (Bolshevik) from 1946 to 1948 were transmitted to China. These resolutions contained many vulgar sociological things. The resolution on the periodicals STAR and LENIN-GRAD* raised the issues of literary thinking to the height of politics for criticism at every turn and solved them by administrative orders. Most of them were copied indiscriminately in China in the early days after the founding of the nation, and such vulgar sociological practices produced a fairly great influence.

The criticism campaign of Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was launched after the criticism of Xiao Jun's thinking, at the time when vulgar sociology spread without restraint and the influence of the Soviet resolutions was widely felt. Thus, the rampage of vulgar sociology when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized was facilitated. Obviously, the rampage this time had its historical reasons. As early as before the founding of the new China, vulgar sociology had been prevalent in China's literary circle for a long time. What deserves our attention is that, relatively scattered and piecemeal before now, the vulgar sociological viewpoints had only appeared here and there in some articles of literary controversies, literary criticisms and introductions of Soviet literature. Only in the criticism campaign this time were they systematized by the critics.

2. The Class Aspect

Vulgar sociology was basically "imported" from the Soviet Union. However, why, once "imported," did it strike root in China's literary circle and why, after encountering resistance several times, did it grow ever more rampant? One cannot but seek the cause in China's literary ranks themselves.

Ours was a country where the petit bourgeoisie occupied an absolute dominant position in number. Nevertheless, the political and economic factors in China's modern society made it impossible for there to be a strong petit bourgeois political party. Due to its many shortcomings, the petit bourgeoisie was incapable of undertaking the heavy burden of leading China's revolution. China's revolution could only be led by the proletariat and its political party. This was one aspect. In the second aspect, though China's proletariat was the class which led the revolution, the overwhelming majority of its members was uneducated. To organize its own literary and artistic contingencies in the course of leading China's revolution, the proletariat had to recruit intellectuals from other classes. Meanwhile, besides the proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie was the most revolutionary class in China and its natural ally. Therefore, history dictated that our proletariat must first recruit the revolutionary intellectuals from the broad petit bourgeoisie in order to

* See "Literary and Artistic Issues of the Soviet Union"

organize its own literary and artistic army. Thirdly, with the failure of China's old democratic revolution and the ever growing proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie saw the hope for its own liberation in the proletariat. Thereupon, large groups of petit bourgeois revolutionaries, one after another, rallied around the proletariat to seek a way out. For this reason, China's revolutionary literary and artistic contingencies were basically formed with intellectuals of petit bourgeois background. The petit bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class, but it also had its backward side and its many shortcomings distinguishing it from the proletariat. In terms of its backward side, due to its narrow-mindedness, aversion to discipline, isolationism and conservatism of the small production, it easily became subjective and one-sided in its way of thinking. As a result, it tended to vacillate left and right in politics and demonstrate an ultra-leftwing or ultra-rightwing tendency. In the course of China's revolution, under general conditions, when the revolution suffered setbacks, the petit bourgeois revolutionaries became pessimistic and discouraged, inclining to accept rightwing ideas and feelings and rightwing viewpoints; when it was successful, they easily became conceited and impatient, inclining to accept leftwing ideas and feelings and leftwing viewpoints and take incorrect ultra-leftwing actions.

Based on the vulgar materialist viewpoints and the general principles of sociology, vulgar sociology observes, analyzes and explains literary issues with dogmatism and metaphysics as the method. It only sees the universality of contradictions, but not the particularity. When handling complex literary issues, instead of making concrete scientific analyses of concrete issues, it measures them by the abstract concepts of vulgar materialism and sociology and applies them arbitrarily. Overwhelming and seemingly Marxist, it often emerges with an ultra-leftwing appearance. It suited the taste of the petit bourgeois intellectuals, particularly when the revolution was successful, and it was easily accepted and used by them. Therefore, the moment vulgar sociology came to China, it immediately established a rapport with a number of literary workers and struck root smoothly.

With the founding of the new China in 1949 and the victory of the revolution, some of the literary workers who had a petit bourgeois background or who possessed the petit bourgeois world philosophy began to be careless. The subjectivity, one-sidedness and fanaticism in their way of thinking and their impatience for the success of the socialist revolution all revealed themselves, and leftwing thinking and feelings began to develop. When reflected in literary criticism, the vulgar sociology of ultra-leftwing appearance emerged. As a result, vulgar sociology rampaged in the early days after the founding of the nation, paving the way for the first time for the systematization of the vulgar sociological viewpoints when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized and producing a tremendous influence on subsequent literary criticisms and literary movements. Therefore, the rampage of vulgar sociology in the early days after the founding of the nation when Xiao Yemu's creative tendency was criticized undoubtedly had its deep class reasons and was the inevitable outcome when our country with an extremely broad petit bourgeoisie developed to a specific historical stage.

Subsequently, when the world philosophy of the literary workers was continuously reformed and the overwhelming majority of them gradually became worker class intellectuals, why were there still several rampages of vulgar sociology, and why does it still have a market even today? Because, in a class society, no one's thinking is all of one color. Proletarian ideas may be found in some petit bourgeois intellectuals, while all kinds of petit bourgeois things are bound to remain in the minds of worker class intellectuals. As long as such things exist, it is difficult to break off completely from vulgar sociology. It only goes to show that our struggle against vulgar sociology is closely linked with the protraction and complexity of the ideological reform of the literary workers. Naturally, the rampages of vulgar sociology after criticizing Xiao Yemu's creative tendency had an even more direct and close tie with the political movements in China's literary and artistic realm.

3. The Political Aspect

The three high tides of vulgar sociology after criticizing Xiao Yemu's creative tendency all had a prominent characteristic: The direct cause of the high tides was almost always the political movements in the literary realm. During the first high tide from 1952 to 1955, there were two major political movements, viz., the criticism of the idealist viewpoints in the study of "Dream of the Red Chambers" and the criticism of Hu Feng and others. During the second high tide from 1957 to 1959, there were also two major political movements, viz., the "anti-rightwing" movement and the "recriticism" of Ding Ling and others. There were more political movements during the third high tide occurring after 1963. Among the minor ones there was the "literary rectification" movement in 1964, and the major ones included the unprecedented "Great Cultural Revolution." Some comrades feel that the criticism of Xiao Yemu's creative tendency in the early days after the founding of the nation did not turn into a political movement. I feel that, in terms of its scale and nature, it was not limited to discussions of literary thinking and criticisms of literary works, because no dissenting opinions and counter criticisms were permitted; therefore, it was a political movement. Compared with subsequent political movements, the difference was that no organizational measures were taken against the criticized, but he was deprived of the right to publish. At the time, WENYI BAO called it a "criticism" campaign of a "mass nature."* Following the "mass" formula of disallowing dissenting opinions in "criticisms" of literary thinking and works was a basic characteristic of political movements in the literary realm. Replacing intensive and meticulous ideological and academic discussions with mass political movements, stressing "uniformity of public opinion" and permitting only one school to express itself, instead of a hundred schools of thought contending, would lead inevitably to the undesirable summary and brutal tendency and the rampage of vulgar sociology. Therefore, rising and falling with the rise and fall of the political movements in the literary realm is a law of vulgar sociology since the founding of the nation.

* "Editor's Note," WENYI BAO, Vol 5, No 1

After the founding of the nation, why were there so many political movements in the literary realm which provided the opportunity for vulgar sociology to rampage? One main reason was the growing leftwing deviation in the ideological realm. Same as rightwing mistakes, such leftwing deviation was not proletarian, but petit bourgeois; it was the outcome of the influence of the vacillating political tendencies of the petit bourgeoisie on the party's lines. One may say that the leftwing deviation makes political movements in the literary realm possible, and solving issues of literary thinking with the methods used in political movements supplies the opportunity and creates the condition for the rampage of vulgar sociology. Conversely, vulgar sociology may also trigger off political movements in the literary realm, and once the methods of political movements are used to solve issues of literary thinking, the ultra-leftwing literary line of those like the "gang of four" will reincarnate itself and exercise its evil influence. The leftwing deviation in the ideological realm, the political movements in the literary realm and vulgar sociology have an interdependent and interactive relationship. Therefore, to overcome vulgar sociology in the literary realm, we must purge the influence of the long-standing ever more serious leftwing deviation and the ultra-leftwing literary line during the time of the "gang of four" and thoroughly implement the policy of "a hundred flowers blooming; a hundred schools of thought contending."

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APPROVAL GIVEN FOR NEW UNIVERSITY IN SHENZHEN

HK040721 Hong Kong SOUTH CHINA MORNING POST in English 4 Dec 81 pp 1, 18

[Article by Peter Humphrey]

[Text] China has given the green light for a Hong Kong developer to build a university on the scale of Hong Kong University in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone [SEZ] as part of a \$3.3 billion twin development project.

The university, to build facing Deep Bay, is a \$2.2 billion component of the project, which will establish a "wholly independent city" within the zone.

It will occupy 1 1/2 sq km of the 6 sq km development site.

The other half of the project is located at Man Kam Road near the crossborder railway station, with an estimated investment of \$1.1 billion or from one-third to one-half the investment sum in the Deep Bay site.

The manager of Lian Cheng Enterprise Ltd, Mr William Hsia, said yesterday the company had signed two separate contracts for the projects with the Guangdong Province SEZ Development Company in August.

The company is forming a joint venture company with the SEZ according to Chinese regulations. The venture is called Lian He Development Co.

"The purpose is to set up a wholly independent, international and comprehensive university in an independent city," he said.

This would be different from other universities established in China for Chinese from outside the borders.

The overseas university in Quanzhou, Fujian Province, and Jidan University in Guangzhou are not independent of the Chinese Government.

The development of the Deep Bay area will be in 4 phases over 10 years, and the smaller project in 3 phases over 5 years, with the first phase of each beginning next year.

The university will have four faculties for social sciences, natural sciences, liberal arts and fine arts, and will receive natural sciences, liberal arts and fine arts, and will receive undergraduates mainly from Hong Kong, Macao and Southeast Asia.

Between 10 and 20 percent of the students will be mainland Chinese.

Teaching staff will be employed mainly from Hong Kong and the United States on expatriate salaries and will live either in the SEZ or commute from the Hong Kong side of the border.

The university board has been formed and is discussing the appointment of a principal, who is expected to be from Hong Kong. He is unlikely to be a foreigner, Mr Hsia said.

"There would be no political interference from the Chinese Government. It will be an independent university even in administration," Mr Hsia said.

"Only a small proportion of investment will come from the Chinese, mainly in terms of labor rather than money," he added.

"Investment in the university will be interrelated with the overall development project in Deep Bay, and part of Lian Cheng's profits from the two elements of the development will be re-invested in the university."

This would mean the company is sponsoring the university with quasi donations.

The board would consider and decide how much initial investment to put into the university, but exact figures are not yet available.

Lian Cheng enterprise was established 2 years ago for the execution of these projects.

The company's sources of finance are mainly in Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Japan and the United States over 50 percent of the money for the university comes from Malaysia.

Mr Hsia noted that Hong Kong University, the Chinese University in Shatin and Baptist College could not accommodate all Hong Kong's candidates for university education. It will be named Asia University.

CSO: 4000/30

'BA YI' CONDEMNS TAIWAN REUNIFICATION PLAN

OW201323 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 19 Nov 81

[Text] At the height of Sino-American relations in 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping first proposed the abandonment of the militant slogan of liberating Taiwan and replaced it with the ambiguous call for peaceful reunification of the motherland. The new slogan has demoralized PLA units in the coastal areas, the Fuzhou PLA units in particular. The proposal for cooperation between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang for the third time set out by Chairman Ye of the NPC Standing Committee on the eve of national day has further created an illusion among the broad masses of commanders and fighters about reunification of the motherland in the offing, slackened their vigilance and weakened their determination to liberate Taiwan and unify the motherland in a true sense.

Such an ideological state of mind cannot be tolerated in the face of the Taiwan authorities' growing collusion with the United States and their efforts to reinforce the armed forces and expand armament. Judging from the current situation, the policy of peaceful reunification is very unrealistic. First of all diplomatically, since we have tolerated the United States maintaining normal relations with Taiwan, we have actually recognized the situation of two Chinas, or, one China and one Taiwan. Consequently, the United States will certainly continue its military aid to Taiwan. With its growing military might, how can Taiwan agree to cooperate with our party? Next, let us take a look at the economic situation on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. According to information of departments concerned, the Taiwan peasants' per capita annual income is about 10 times that of the peasants on the mainland. With such a big gap between economic lives, how can Taiwan be expected to voluntarily return to the motherland? It has been reported that Chairman Ye Jianying offered some explanation on this question in Article Four of his proposal to Taiwan. But the Taiwan authorities have not only flatly rejected talks with our side but have also whipped up new waves of anticommunism.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping and other comrades in the central authorities have pinned their hope for Taiwan's return to the motherland on certain rulers in Taiwan. Trying their utmost to curry favor with the Kuomintang rulers, Deng Xiaoping and other comrades have, time and again, addressed Chiang Kai-shek as Mr Chiang and declared that the Chiang Kai-shek family's ancestral tomb in Zhejiang's Fenghua County "has been renovated" and that the tombs of Chiang Kai-shek's father (Chiang Daocong) and Chiang Ching-kuo's mother (Mao Fuhai) "have been

repaired as new." These utterances not only sound very unpleasant but have also created adverse effects. Please think about this: Are such a reverent title for Chiang Kai-shek and efforts to repair his ancestral tomb and take care of his relatives not insults to the countless revolutionary martyrs who were killed by Chiang Kai-shek and the hundreds of thousands of commanders and fighters who shed their blood in the struggle against the Kuomintang reactionary forces? Worse of all, the policy of peaceful reunification has lulled the thinking of PLA commanders and fighters, causing such a lax coastal defense that Huang Zhicheng was sighted only after the airplane he piloted landed at the airport. Should we not ponder deeply over this question and earnestly examine our work [words indistinct]?

We can say for sure that, once the international situation deteriorates suddenly, Comrade Deng Xiaoping's unprincipled policy, which has weakened coastal defense and called for compromise with the Kuomintang, will definitely bring immeasurably grave consequences.

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TAIWAN

MA BI TELLS 'XINHUA' WHY HE HAS RETURNED TO PRC

OW020903 Beijing XINHUA in English 0838 GMT 2 Dec 81

["Why Have I Returned to the Mainland?--Interview With Ma Bi, Member of CPPCC National Committee"--XINHUA headline]

[Text] Beijing, December 2 (XINHUA)--Ma Bi, a new member of the CPPCC National Committee, says to XINHUA: "'An old horse knows the way,' as a Chinese saying goes. And I am an old horse that chose to return to settle on the mainland."

Professor Ma Bi is 69 years old. He was a permanent council member and secretary general of the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Doctrine Research Society in Taiwan and special research fellow of the general political operation department of the Taiwan Armed Forces. He arrived in Beijing last November and was later elected a member of the fifth national committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference.

"I came back with three questions on mind," he said. "What I saw during my visit over the past month has provided the answers."

His first question was: "Does the Chinese Communist Party adopt a negative attitude toward Dr. Sun Yat-sen?"

Ma Bi is a close follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and has made a good study of his doctrine. He said propaganda in Taiwan harped on the theme that "the Chinese Communist Party has negated Dr. Sun Yat-sen and abandoned his ideas."

He said he had learned how China ceremoniously commemorated the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution from the central government right down to the grassroots, and he himself attended activities celebrating Dr. Sun Yat-sen's birthday in Beijing.

"China has not left Dr. Sun Yat-sen out in the cold," he said. "Nor has it abandoned his ideas. On the contrary, it admires Dr. Sun Yat-sen for his merits in leading China's democratic revolution."

Recalling his visit to the tomb containing Dr. Sun Yat-sen's effects in the temple of Azure clouds on the northwestern outskirts of the capital, he said: "The tomb and the effects are well preserved and there is a photo exhibition arranged in perfect order."

His second question was: "Can China achieve its modernization program?"

"Some people in Taiwan think it is impossible for the mainland to attain the goal of four modernizations," he said. "And this drove me to try to find it out myself."

"As soon as I set foot on the mainland, I said what I wanted to see first was not the palace museum, nor the summer palace, nor the Great Wall. I wanted to tour factories and rural people's communes. So I visited Tianjin's new harbour and Beijing's capital iron and steel complex.

"I saw the capital iron and steel complex use the most advanced technologies of oxygen top-blown converter and coal powder injection.

"At Xiangtan, my hometown in Hunan Province, I toured the Xiangtan Motor Plant. It used to be a small factory of about 500 workers. Now it has become a modern plant with ten thousand workers and a lot of precision machine tools. I did not know a motor plant of this size in Taiwan. I think China has the foundation for modernization.

"In the Evergreen people's commune on Beijing's western outskirts, I watched the peasants work, visited their homes and their factories, green houses, chicken farms, nurseries. I was impressed."

Ma Bi's third question: "How is my family"

Ma Bi was born to a landlord family and he and his brother worked a long time for the Kuomintang. He wanted to know what had the Chinese Government done to his family. At noon November 23 he arrived at his home in Xiangtan, Hunan Province. He was immediately surrounded by a host of strange faces.

"When I left home in 1950," he said, "I had a family of eight, with three sons and three daughters. Now it has grown into one with 37 persons in four generations."

All the family members who are able to work have jobs. Each family has its own house.

"Though I stayed at home for only four hours," Ma Bi said, "the get-together cleared up all the doubts and suspicions that haunted me for 30 years."

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